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An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Urgent Solution Needed for Faltering Arms Talks

*PM1203134191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Mar 91 Second Edition p 5*

["Editorial Comments": "Breakthrough Needed"]

[Text] It is known that in times of war the muses are silent. And diplomats too, evidently. In any case, their voices have not been heard much from Geneva, where the articles of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons [START] are being "polished." While the war was blazing in the desert, and all attention was fixed on that, no one sounded the alarm. However, time is passing, and things are at a standstill in Geneva—in this case the treaty on strategic offensive weapons.

Meanwhile the treaty is being awaited in Moscow, where the Soviet-American summit that was postponed in February is to be held in the first half of this year. It is here that the two presidents are expected to sign this historic document.

There is no need to prove that it is historic. Even the slightest movement backwards of the hands on the "nuclear clock" makes it possible for mankind to breathe more freely. And here we are talking about an unprecedented reduction of nuclear arsenals. Furthermore, the prospect of a nonnuclear world is opening up, and the whole international climate is changing for the better.

So what is the matter? Even a month ago, "negotiators" on both sides were reassuring the public that everything has been resolved and that only the "technicalities" remain, and now disjointed rumors are coming from Geneva about "unexpected" new complexities which threaten to postpone the signing of the treaty for an unspecified time. We are accusing "them" of inconsistency and of bringing out new complex approaches at the final stretch, and they accuse "us" of obduracy which they say reflects the "strengthened influence" of military circles on our foreign policy.

The truth is not always half-way between the two. Evidently the euphoria that overwhelmed the U.S. military department following the victory in the desert is having its effect here, in addition to the chorus of praises being sung there about the latest American weapons.

A solution needs to be sought urgently. It seems to us that the main thing is to see the aim behind the details of the talks. And it has stayed the same. It is not worth it for anyone, and that includes Washington, to disregard the fact that this is not just a question of weapons, but one of weapons of mass destruction, which do not leave anyone with a chance, and do not divide people into victors and vanquished.

And if these Geneva talks come to a standstill, if all these "levels" and "sub-levels" are not resolved, then we need to look at the experience of Reykjavik, for example. Even a "mini-summit" can rise above banal problems and make the necessary breakthrough in the talks. And in this case it is a question of a problem that is truly fateful for the whole world.

Everything that has been said also fully applies to what is going on the in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, where the "revision" of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is also dragging on. There is an increasing amount of "unjustified linkages," as the diplomats express themselves opaquely. A breakthrough—and a quick one at that—is also needed here.

Let us note that the problem is not just one of dates, but one of stopping a negative tendency which is highly dangerous. After all, if it is allowed to develop, it may freeze Soviet-American dialogue for a certain time, even if it does not completely stifle it, and return tension to Europe.

This must be prevented.

Commentary Views Soviet Military Reductions

*LD1203095991 Moscow World Service in English
2000 GMT 11 Mar 91*

[Commentary by military observer Captain Aleksandr Yakovlev]

[Text] Western countries have been voicing concern over the Soviet Union's intention to make three infantry divisions a part of its naval forces, which would place them beyond the bounds of the European Convention of Forces Treaty. The Soviet Union has been accused of violating the treaty. Radio Moscow's military observer, Captain Aleksandr Yakovlev, comments:

The Soviet Union has strictly honored its commitments to the unilateral reduction of armed forces and the withdrawal of its troops from Eastern Europe at an early date and the transition to a defensive military doctrine. The pace of these unprecedented steps is fast indeed. The Soviet Union is now as determined to reorganize the remaining ground troops along defensive lines.

Just recently I visited the Baltic military district. The number of tanks, still the main strike element, was reduced by 15 percent last year. Artillery pieces have been reduced by 40 percent; so have the calibers of guns and mortars. The quantity and quality of antitank weapons has remained unchanged. All this is evidence of defensive reorganization. Military exercises have become less frequent. In the first place they are devoted to practicing defensive operations and fostering anti-amphibious operation defenses on the coast.

The sharp reduction of armed forces, in particular ground troops, and the return home of big contingents, have posed a number of problems, such as accommodation and the elimination of a number of facilities and military equipment. Apparently these problems could be resolved in different ways, for instance (?the same package) [as heard] with the problems of other arms, including the Navy.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly suggested negotiations in order to reduce the naval forces of the sides and limit their activity. Unfortunately, its proposals were ignored. Apparently the United States and other allied countries are in no hurry to abandon their heavy superiority over the Soviet Union in the naval forces. The U.S. navy has 2.2 times more surface vessels, two times more aircraft and 10 times more marines than the Soviet Navy. Won't it be quite natural and reasonable for the Soviet Union to enhance the naval defense potential, in particular that of the coast, by including several ground units into the coast artillery forces as the Marines? Anyway, against the background of the United States' reluctance to make its naval forces liable to conventional arms reductins, such a step by the Soviet Union does not look like a violation of conventional forces treaty.

One more argument in favor of such a solution, which is ignored in many cases: The future of thousands of career servicemen and their families who would be directly affected by the reduction and the withdrawal of troops. It is clear that their interests cannot be neglected. Probably it is worse letting them serve their term once they have connected their lives with the Army.

Press Aide Ignatenko 12 Mar Briefing Reported

Baker To Meet Gorbachev 15 Mar

LD1203144591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1321 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (TASS)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will come to Moscow on 14 March. This was announced at a briefing today by Vitaliy Ignatenko, aide to the USSR president and head of his press service.

Baker will meet with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev the following day. In Vitaliy Ignatenko's opinion, contact with the United States is very important for a settlement in the Persian Gulf. James Baker, he continued, will visit the Soviet capital with "solid diplomatic baggage" after his tour of countries in the region. Taking into account what is available [chto imeetsya] in Moscow on this problem, the conversations with the U.S. secretary of state will be useful in working out plans for a post-war settlement in the Persian Gulf, Vitaliy Ignatenko said.

On Yeltsin Speech, Wales Visit

LD1203151291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1341 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow 12 Mar (TASS)—[passage omitted] Answering a question about the possibility of Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic, coming to Moscow, Vitaliy Ignatenko announced that no such visit is expected this week or the beginning of next week. But, he pointed out, the Polish president's meeting with the Soviet leadership is on the agenda.

Concerning the coalminers' strikes now taking place in a number of regions of the USSR, the head of the president's press service said that on the instructions of the head of state, Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has met representatives of the coalminers' collectives. The meeting, according to Vitaliy Ignatenko, lasted for more than two hours, and the president, vice president, prime minister, and a number of ministers were informed of the results of it. In the situation that has taken shape, it was deemed "inexpedient" for Mikhail Gorbachev to meet the miners as well.

Vitaliy Ignatenko was also asked about the USSR president's reaction to Boris Yeltsin's speech last Saturday. The head of the president's press service said that Mikhail Gorbachev has not spoken on this subject. At the same time he recalled the television statement by Anatoliy Lukyanov concerning the statement by the head of the Russian legislature. According to Vitaliy Ignatenko, the president shares the assessments expressed on this subject by Anatoliy Lukyanov.

On 'Attitude' to Correspondents

LD1203153891 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The USSR presidential press service has received a letter from the Association of Foreign Correspondents accredited in the Soviet Union. The letter is listing a number of instances of incorrect attitude to foreign journalists, Vitaliy Ignatenko, assistant to the president of the USSR and head of the presidential Press Service, told a briefing here today.

He said the problem was discussed and brought to the notice of Mikhail Gorbachev. "Any instances of arbitrariness and incorrect attitude with regard to both Soviet and foreign journalists are disapproved," Ignatenko emphasised.

All those guilty of this kind of misbehaviour will be penalised in accordance with Soviet legislation, Ignatenko stated.

On Soviet-Turkish Talks

LD1203145191 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The talks between the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and president of the Republic of Turkey Turgut Ozal were friendly, extremely constructive and filled with specific content, said Soviet presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko.

The spokesman told a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today that upon the conclusion of the second round of these talks today, the heads of the two states signed a treaty of friendship, good neighbourliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey.

Among the documents signed today he also highlighted the inter-governmental agreement of avoiding double taxation and the inter-governmental agreement on trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation. The last two documents were signed for the USSR by the ministers of finance and foreign economic relations, respectively. Both documents were signed for Turkey by the foreign minister.

Ignatenko called the journalists' attention to economic development of the Black Sea basin. He noted that although the definition of this basin is just emerging, it can be said that it will link many countries by one market or maybe by the "Black Sea Economic Zone".

Ignatenko described this idea as very promising, interesting and attractive. He said it can be of much use for people in Europe, Africa and other regions close to the Black Sea. He added that Gorbachev was extremely interested in the ecological aspect of the idea.

Regarding the summit talks proper, Ignatenko emphasised that being benevolent and highly constructive, they made it possible to deepen a political dialogue between the two presidents and countries and to "clarify intentions of the sides."

The presidential spokesman said that the sides exchanged opinions about the situation in the Gulf, reafirming their views. Ignatenko said the Turkish side assesses the Soviet stand during all the phases of the crisis as "fruitful and useful".

Answering questions from reporters, the presidential spokesman said that the question of human rights has not been raised during the talks.

Ignatenko said that upon conclusion of the official part of the visit in Moscow, the Turkish president leaves by air tomorrow for Kiev, the Ukraine, and will then fly to Alma-Ata, Kazakhastan, and will conclude his tour of the USSR by a visit to Baku, Azerbaijan, on March 16.

TASS Views EC Policy Mideast Settlement

LD1103222391 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 11 Mar 91

[By TASS international analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—The European Troika delegation—the current, former and future chairmen of the Council of European Communities (EC) have made an important tour of the Near and Middle East.

The trip aimed to probe ways to peacefully settle the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Speaking in Luxembourg about the results of meetings with Israeli leaders, Council Chairman and Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos said that such a settlement was possible if Israel complied with resolutions 242 and 338 of the U.N. Security Council.

According to the statement, a settlement is hindered by an uncompromising stance of the Israeli leadership, which refuses to comply with U.N. decisions.

EC leaders believe that a principled statement by Tel Aviv about its readiness to free the occupied Arab territories would be the first practical step towards peace in the Middle East.

The raising of the issue about Israeli withdrawal from the Arab lands is not new. However, it has gained prominence in the wake of the Gulf war and the liberation of Kuwait from the Iraqi aggression.

Now, as never before, the idea to turn the entire Middle East region into a zone of peace and political stability by developing an internationally-recognised mechanism of immediate sanctions against states resorting to aggression is increasingly popular in Western Europe.

Such a mechanism can be devised at an international Middle East conference. The European Community has long supported the holding of such a conference under the aegis of the United Nations.

Because of growing international support for the forum, including on the part of the United States, although with some reservations, French Prime Minister Michel Rocard's visit to Washington gains special importance.

Rocard said in Washington that time had come to address the essence rather than procedural matters. The essence, according to the prime minister, lies in the fact that all states in the region should be free and have internationally-recognised and safe borders. This concerns Israel, Lebanon and a sovereign Palestinian state.

This in fact means that sovereignty, national borders and equal security for all countries should be recognised in the region. This is in full compliance with international laws.

If this order is linked to the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and own motherland and the introduction of the proposed system of international control for weapons deliveries to the region, the necessary conditions for the establishment of peace and security could develop.

The EC member-countries' position is an important and constructive contribution to the search for a lasting and just political settlement in the Middle East, and without this international stability, and this is clear to all after the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, is impossible.

Romania Hosts Meeting on Black Sea Economic Zone

LD1303034491 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Malyutin]

[Text] Bucharest March 12 TASS—Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and the Soviet Union opened a meeting today in Bucharest to work out principles of activities in a free economic zone on the Black Sea.

They will discuss a draft document that would determine spheres of and provide a legal basis for the new form of economic cooperation of the four Black Sea states.

The meeting was initiated by Turkey in 1990. It suggested that necessary conditions and infrastructure be created in the region for free exchanges of goods, services and money.

United Nations' 'Shortcomings' Noted

LD1203232691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1455 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Sergey Rogov, head of the military-political section of the Institute of the United States and Canada, by correspondent Andrey Trapeznikov on 12 March; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] There was a roundtable discussion today in the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace on the subject of the crisis in the Persian Gulf and the United Nations. Our correspondent Andrey Trapeznikov talks to Sergey Rogov, doctor of historical science and head of the military-political section of the Institute of the United States and Canada, who took part in the meeting.

[Trapeznikov] Sergey Mikhaylovich, I get the impression that the biggest thing behind today's discussion is the problem of United Nations shortcomings, which were shown particularly clearly by the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

[Rogov] Indeed, the United Nations has been criticized for many years, and this is certainly not by chance, for it has shown itself ineffective as far as fulfilling its main functions: preservation of international peace and security. That was precisely the task laid down in the UN Charter.

The organization was paralysed during the Cold War, in the years of Soviet-American rivalry, and this deprived it of the chance to fulfill its functions. Now the Cold War has ended, and the issue of building a new international order has come to the fore. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, caused by the aggression of Iraq against Kuwait, showed that the end of the Cold War does not mean peace has been established in the world.

From this arises the need to think about how to use the potential which lies in the UN Charter, in order to make this organization truly effective.

[Trapeznikov] In your opinion, as a specialist, what are the most urgent measures that have to be taken?

[Rogov] It seems to me there is no need to reconsider the UN Charter. It was drawn up by people who wanted to turn it into an effective mechanism to maintain peace and security. Now we need to think about how these tenets can be filled with material content.

During the crisis in the Persian Gulf, the United Nations [word indistinct] a record degree, I would not say of unanimity, but of the creation of a very broad coalition involving the majority of members of the world community to put an end to Iraq's aggression. But as long as the United Nations does not have its own mechanism which would support security measures on our planet, I think we need to create an effective UN force to preserve peace. That means that, let's say, UN bodies which have not in fact been set up because of disagreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, like the military staff committee which was supposed to command the UN peacekeeping forces, should finally start to work. Obviously the main ones taking part in these forces should not be U.S. or Soviet troops, but the troops of third states. But we must take reality into account, and if any aggressor knows that the huge might of the permanent members of the Security Council stands behind these troops, they will know that if it attacks another country and tries to seize its territory or carry out some other aggressive actions, then this will be followed not only by political condemnation by the United Nations, but by economic sanctions, and if at that stage it does not reconsider, then military force will be used against it, which will deprive it of the chance of enjoying any of the fruits of its aggression.

UN Deputy Chief Cited on Humanitarian Contacts

PM1203140591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Therese Paquet-Sevigny, United Nations deputy secretary general, by correspondent A. Lopukhin in Moscow; date not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction: "'Dialogue' Guest—United Nations Deputy General Secretary; the United Nations Are for Mankind"]

[Excerpts] Mrs. Therese Paquet-Sevigny, United Nations deputy secretary general and director of the United Nations Public Information Department, recently visited Moscow. She took part in an information meeting of nongovernment organizations, "The United Nations on the Threshold of the 21st Century," and kindly agreed to answer the PRAVDA correspondent's questions. [passage omitted]

[Lopukhin] Recently the Soviet Union has seen the appearance of a large number of extremely varied social organizations and movements—ecological, humanitarian, human rights, religious, youth, women's, and others. How can they start to cooperate with the United Nations?

[Paquet-Sevigny] The United Nations Public Information Department had a meeting with the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies just recently in Moscow in which representatives of more than 100 social organizations took part, including representatives from union and autonomous republics. This was a good opportunity to discuss problems that concern world society. As far as contacts go, our representatives may be contacted in Moscow at the UN informational center where it is possible to find out about conditions for securing accreditation to our department. In addition, the Soviet UN Association also operates in the USSR. We need the support of the public in order for the United Nations to carry out its high-level mission effectively.

I would like the Soviet people to have a more significant input in resolving the vitally important problems facing humanity. A great deal is expected of the Soviet Union in the world. At the same time, the world public wants to know far more about the hopes and aspirations of Soviet people from all sorts of sources. To this end it is essential to develop horizontal ties not just between governments, but also between social organizations and movements. International relations are always relations between people.

Officials on Internal Need for 'Narconon' Program

PM1203115191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent I. Andreyev: "Will 'Narconon' Save Us?"]

[Excerpts] London-Moscow—A meeting of Soviet and foreign representatives devoted to the "East-West Against Drugs" program has been held in London. It is high time that East and West pooled their efforts in the struggle against drug addiction. And not only because drug addiction is a calamity for all mankind, what may be termed a planetary calamity. The scale of this illness in the USSR is entirely comparable with its dissemination in the United States.

The increasing openness of our country which, alas, also possesses enormous stocks of raw material for all types of narcotics, is fraught with the danger of large masses of the terrible poison being dumped onto the world markets. This meeting became possible thanks to the active assistance of B. Persson [name as transliterated], leader of the European network of the worldwide "Narconon" organization.

"I am a psychiatrist and I have spent 10 years trying to cure children and adolescents of drug addiction," Candidate of Medical Sciences Vladimir Ivanov, chairman of the board of the World Society for Saving Children and Adolescents from Narcotics, said at the meeting. "I have written dozens of articles on the problem and eventually I came to the conclusion one day that drug addiction appears to be incurable. It was only later, having visited a number of foreign centers working in this field, that I became convinced that modern methods, for instance that used in "Narconon," save up to three quarters of those going through the course from their fatal predilection."

V. Ivanov believes that we can and must borrow "Narconon's" methodological experience and assimilate the technology for collecting funds for this charitable business and develop in the USSR the preventive work among children and adolescents which is proving so successful in the West.

Another Soviet participant in the meeting—USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut Pavel Popovich, who now heads a scientific research institute, described his participation in the struggle against narcotics from a completely different angle. With very good photographs of Earth from space and from aircraft and helicopters, he said, we discover stocks of narcotic plants growing in the world and numerous artificially created plantations. We process this information and pass it on to the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs called on to destroy the sources of raw material. [passage omitted describing three addicts rehabilitated in the West]

I nonetheless fear that the Western participants in the international action against narcotics somewhat overestimate Soviet society's readiness to declare war on the terrible poison. The majority have a poor idea of the scale of values by which we live and of the problems which we regard as the most urgent, paramount ones.

Alas, drug addiction has not yet come to the fore in our system of priorities. Looking with alarm into the future, we are concerned by far simpler questions, seemingly forgetting that young people left face to face with narcotics are the backbone of tomorrow's society.

What this society will be like depends on whether we are able to protect children and adolescents from the abiding temptation.

Will "Narconon" save us?

United States & Canada

PLO Sees 'Positive Elements' in Bush Statement

PM1303084591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Postwar Problems"]

[Text] Tunis, 7 Mar—The PLO today welcomed "positive elements" in the statement delivered by U.S. President George Bush, who called on Wednesday for the Palestinian problem to be settled on the basis of the "land for peace" principle. WAFA announced that a statement circulated by the PLO Executive Committee urges the UN Security Council to implement resolutions designed to stop the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories. The statement also indicates that the Security Council should organize talks involving all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, to seek ways of settling it.

Baker Talks on Arab-Israeli Issue Viewed

LD1103233991 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Following talks in Cairo with the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak, the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will discuss with the Israeli leaders in Jerusalem the American plan for a postwar settlement in the Gulf and the whole of the Middle East, including the Palestinian problem.

Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton sees a possibility for improvement.

Last weekend, Secretary of State Baker met in Riyadh with the foreign ministers of eight Arab countries of the anti-Iraqi coalition. The meeting produced a unanimous agreement that if peace is to be restored in the region the Palestinian problem must be solved and Arab-Israeli relations normalized. But settlement methods triggered off notable differences. The Arab countries suggested calling a UN-sponsored international conference. The idea is nothing new. It has already won energetic support not only among Arab countries. The USSR, France, Turkey, and some other nations favor a conference of this kind, but the Administration in Washington still objects. James Baker confirmed this in the Saudi capital. He described the conference as premature.

Tel Aviv has welcomed this statement. It flatly rejects the very idea of a conference. With little enthusiasm it had taken the land-for-peace formula that the United States put forward again. This formula boils down to liberating the Israeli-occupied Palestinian West Bank and Gaza in exchange for peace guarantees by the Palestinian and other Arabs. Israel responded to the American proposal before James Baker's visit by deciding to double Israeli settlements on the occupied Palestinian lands.

Israel's noninvolvement in the war with Iraq has boosted its prestige. Its territory was shelled by Arab missiles. But trust in the Palestine Liberation Organization has dwindled. Its leaders supported the Iraqi aggressor. The just Palestinian cause was damaged last Sunday when a Palestinian Arab murdered four Israeli women in Jerusalem. The Israeli leaders are trying to exploit the situation. They have obviously toughened their position toward the Palestinian Arabs.

Tel Aviv has received with gratitude an additional $650 million from the United States to meet the increased military spending, but it does not feel like compromising with the Palestinian and other Arabs, which is what the United States calls for. That is why James Baker's talks with the Israeli leaders seem foggy enough, and prospects for resolving the Palestinian problem quite nebulous. Still, I do believe that Israel will have to display realism. It is impossible and dangerous for Israel itself to be constantly at loggerheads with the Arabs and try to resolve the Palestinian question by force.

Baker's Moscow Visit, Disarmament Issue Eyed

LD1203185891 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] During the talks the Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh held in Washington with James Baker and President Bush earlier this year, it was agreed to complete work on the remaining technicalities in February. Now we are almost in the middle of March and there are no reassuring reports from Geneva, where the draft treaty is being discussed. Evidently the technicalities that were to be agreed upon have grown into something more important. The participants in the talks do not conceal this. Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov says the Americans are inconsistent. At the last moment they put forward new, complex approaches which complicate work on the treaty. In their turn the Americans claim that the Soviet stand has hardened under pressure from the Soviet military-industrial complex.

I do not want to argue either claim. I think the truth lies somewhere in the middle. It seems that the euphoria caused by the easy victory over Iraq, where the Americans proved the superiority of their weapons, has made Washington—and primarily the Pentagon—regard the process of disarmament with unjustified lightness. A clear tendency is taking shape. Work on the strategic arms limitation treaty has come to a standstill, while in Vienna the [word indistinct] treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe is protracted groundlessly. This is the most alarming thing.

In the final count, it is not so important to agree on a certain clause of a document by a fixed date, for what is at stake is the question of the foundations of security, but what is unacceptable is to refrain from serious discussion and create artificial problems that turn talks into a talk shop.

The line of the Soviet Union and President Gorbachev is not changing. The Soviet Union stands for a strategic arms limitation treaty, for signing it during President Bush's visit to Moscow during the first half of the year. As far as I can understand, similar feelings prevail in the White House, though there are also opponents of compromise with the Soviet Union on questions of disarmament. James Baker's talks with the Soviet leadership in Moscow should clarify the situation. Despite the recent difficulties, I still think that there is going to be a breakthrough and work on the treaty will be completed in the near future.

Gulf War's Effect on U.S. Relations Examined

PM1203154791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev: "Will the 'Bridges' Hold? The War in the Persian Gulf and Soviet-American Relations"]

[Text] Whenever a strong wind blows, suspension bridges sway. But if they are properly designed they do not collapse. The science of the strength of materials helps make accurate calculations—Stepan Timoshenko was a major scientist in this sphere who lived in the United States and was greatly respected there. Strength. Toughness and flexibility. Calculation. They are necessary not only for bridges, buildings, and aircraft, but for people as well. Above all for those who make policy.

The events in the Persian Gulf were a serious test for the international community. Not only were people and the actual land of this tormented region under fire, but also... principles. The principles of the new relations between peoples, which have been developing in recent years. Certainly, as in the past, we indulged in self-propaganda and were too quick to talk about a cloudless future. Although, of course, there were grounds for optimism. In a period of some five years there had been qualitative changes in East-West relations, above all in relations between the USSR and the United States. We moved from enmity and confrontation to mutual understanding and cooperation. Agreements on arms cuts, collaboration in the settlement of regional conflicts, a general improvement in the international situation—all this became a commonplace, a norm, as it were. It appeared that progress would continue to be smooth, particularly as the philosophy of the new political thinking, which was gaining more and more recognition in the world, had a firm basis—the realities of our interrelated nuclear age.

But principles are principles, and life the dramatist is cunning when it comes to unexpected twists in the plot. Saddam Husayn's adventure in seizing Kuwait posed the unavoidable question: What is the community of nations supposed to do when one of the main principles of international law—the inviolability of a country's sovereignty and territorial integrity—is crudely flouted. Here and in the foreign press a great deal was written to the effect that events in the Persian Gulf would have developed quite differently if the USSR and the United States, using past years as an example, had adopted confrontational positions. This time our countries were "on the same side of the barricade" on the fundamental issues. Together with the majority of the international community they condemned the Iraqi aggression and demanded the restoration of Kuwaiti independence. This collaboration made it possible to activate the UN Security Council, which in the past, in such cases, has, as a rule, been paralyzed by a veto by one of the great powers. I realize that the USSR's cooperation with the United States in resisting Iraqi aggression seemed like a betrayal of principles to some of our people. They would have been more comfortable with our support for Iraq in the "anti-imperialist struggle." But I am convinced that in fact the position adopted by the Soviet Union not only corresponded to the principles of international law and elementary justice, but also to our fundamental interests. The opposite line would have placed us in danger of involvement in military confrontation we can do without.

The 200 days of diplomatic efforts followed by military action showed that constructive relations betwen the USSR and the United States, which are important in themselves, acquire special significance in international crisis conditions. How useful it turned out to be that the two countries' presidents are now able to discuss the most acute and urgent problems in a businesslike and confidential way. All in all, I believe one can say that Soviet-American relations have stood the test.

Of course, there were differences, which is perfectly natural for great powers whose interests do not coincide all along the line. Throughout the crisis the Soviet Union emphasized the solution of it by political means. The United States took the course of a solution by force. It is a pity that Washington did not take advantage of the USSR's diplomatic efforts, which were paving the way to the speediest implementation of the UN resolutions without military action on the ground. In my view, the Americans were following a boxer's instinct to finish the opponent off once he has been knocked down. This resulted in unnecessary casualties, destruction, and suffering. While welcoming the liberation of Kuwait one laments the thousands and thousands of lives lost in "Desert Storm," those who will not return, who cannot be brought back.

Now that the war in the Persian Gulf is behind us and the complex period of a political settlement is beginning, one naturally wants to examine what has occurred and look to the future. What lessons can be drawn from the experience of collaboration between the two countries over the tense seven-month crisis? What can one expect in the coming days and years? These questions are being discussed by commentators in U.S. papers and are being debated by senators and congressmen. A whole range of views is being expressed, some of which are bound to worry us.

For example, a statement by Senator Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the upper chamber of the U.S. Congress—seemed odd to me. He described the Soviet Union's efforts at seeking a diplomatic settlement of the conflict and cessation of the bloodshed as some evil-minded intrigue. The senator even called for a warning to be given to Moscow: "It is time you stopped interfering, we do not need any more free advice." He was answered by Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Nunn observed that the Soviet Union "is an important element in the coalition," and the coalition must remain intact after the war.

The debate in the U.S. Senate shed light on certain features of the current situation in the United States. The anti-Iraq coalition's easy victory caused a surge of "superpatriotism" and bellicosity in the country. it seemed to some people that the United States—I cite THE WASHINGTON POST—was faced with the opportunity of "returning to the virtually invulnerable security and unlimited domination it enjoyed before Soviet satellites and hydrogen bombs somewhat deflated the nation's self-confidence." The paper writes about having overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," about the Pentagon, which is exultant, now believing that the "United States can at last impose its views on an unruly Third World country with the aid of modern technology."

Is the U.S. political leadership realistic enough not to be seduced by neoglobalism? Judging by U.S. Administration leaders' latest statements, they have a pretty sensible view of the state of affairs. I will refer to a pronouncement by President Bush during his recent press conference. In reply to the question what role the USSR would play in a postwar settlement in the Near East, Bush said: "The Soviet Union is a major, important country, which we must treat as any other country—with due respect. It has long-standing relations and interests in the Near East. We will build our relations with the Soviets on the basis of mutual respect...." Noting that there are significant differences between the two countries on certain questions, Bush added: "I want to continue to cooperate with them, because above all they have good ideas."

The events in the Persian Gulf were a kind of cold shower for those who were planning on rapid and smooth progress toward a new world order. You do not need second sight to be able to predict that new tests lie ahead. Some people were quick to announce that the latest period of detente has ended and the world is slipping back into the cold war. I believe such conclusions are premature and frivolous.

The tension that has occurred in some parts of the civilized world edifice that is under construction certainly does not mean that it is bound to collapse. The edifice already has the pretty sound foundation of collaboration between Eastern and Western countries on a wide range of issues—from arms reduction to the settlement of regional conflicts, from measures to strengthen international security to economic cooperation. Future progress or failure will depend to a decisive degree on the conduct of the top leaders of these countries, above all the USSR and the United States. On whether they are able to resist destructive influences, equate the particular with the general, and see things in perspective. If one takes the task of sensibly transforming the world seriously, and our interdependent nuclear missile age, overwhelmed with problems as it is, can essentially offer no alternative, then even acute international problems can be resolved in such a way as not to overstress the supporting structures of the bridges of cooperation.

KGB 'Rejoinder' to Retired U.S. Agent's Claims

PM0803141591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Mar 91 First Edition p 5

["Rejoinder" by S. Gorlenko of KGB Public Relations Center: "Baloney on a Pin"]

[Text] We are living in amazing times. Not a day goes by without sensational events. I recently found out that former American intelligence service staffers can informally give advice to their Soviet colleagues. Moreover it is free of charge, as they say. This was disclosed by the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Ye. Ovcharenko's article "Your Resident Called Me Once Upon a Time."

To those who are unfamiliar with with this article, I shall explain: It is about the trials and tribulations of the newspaper's special correspondent who managed to talk with the retired American intelligence officer William Corson, the author of several books including "The New KGB: Engine of Soviet Power," which he wrote together with R. Crowley. Mr. Corson opened our journalist's eyes to many interesting facts. It turned out, for example, that Soviet intelligence officers and their American colleagues have very good mutual relations. At least this is how it was for Mr. Corson himself. Or a subtlety of this sort: The dossiers kept by the KGB are always fastened with a pin, since this procedure was established by the Tsarist okhranka [secret police] in the time of Nicholas II. One more little "gem." Ya. Malik, the former USSR representative at the United Nations, and the journalist M. Sturua were either KGB staffers or its agents, but in one way or another they were deeply involved with Soviet intelligence. To be fair, let us note that our journalist nevertheless doubted the authenticity of this view.

It is possible to give an endless list of ex-intelligence officer Corson's extremely varied conjectures as taken down by Ovcharenko. The retired James Bond gave authoritative indications of how Soviet intelligence should organize its work correctly in the future, including its operations against the United States itself, and the newspaper let him have his say. Literally every sentence the American said provides serious food for thought.

Referring to his good relations with "many KGB colleagues," Corson notes, for example: "Nice, intelligent guys. But if I was ordered to liquidate them, I would carry out the order. But they would not hesitate either." It is clearer, after all, to a major intelligence specialist—one who, moreover, holds a doctor of science degree—how America's cloak-and-dagger knights will act in a given situation; in any case he has a right to speak for himself with good reason on this matter. The question arises, however: Why did he decide that Soviet intelligence service staffers would act without hesitation in the same way? It would be reasonable to ask Mr. Corson what facts he was basing his argument on when he formed his conclusion. It is hard to believe that such a major specialist in intelligence questions is unaware that terrorist methods have long been excluded from the KGB's arsenal.

Of course, his interviewer could not have known this, but Mr. Corson's account was a surefire winner. The word has been spoken, recorded in writing, and subsequently millions of newspaper readers, having gotten their "food for thought," can once again think what they like. The newspapers say that the intelligence services of all countries, including the Soviet intelligence service, are all exactly alike and use the same methods, however dirty these may be.

Here is one more quotation from William Corson: "In those days I would say to my subordinates: Do not waste your time trying to recruit a KGB colonel. In material terms he has more than you will ever earn in your entire life...."

What?! The credulous journalist even swallows this as well. Along with her, the reader probably does, too. The respected Mr. Corson, of course, knows how much an average CIA staffer earns. This is incommensurably more than Soviet intelligence service staffers—even at the rank of colonel.

When I was reading the article, the same questions kept cropping up automatically. Who needs all this nonsense, and why? It was not so much to this question that I sought an answer. After all, the basic point is to be found elsewhere. I felt like questioning the author of the article, who had formed the conclusion that any intelligence service is "straightforward and conservative in its methods and principles, like a... regular pin": Can it really be that no doubt crept into her heart about what she had heard? Can she really have taken all this at face value? Or did it not occur to the journalist that she was working with (in the literal sense) a professional. As we can see, he knows his business....

Last June KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA was the first of the mass media to inform millions of Soviet citizens about Kalugin, who subsequently told a number of lies about the state security organs. Attempts were also made by the newspaper to inspire in readers a liking for the personality of the blatant "turncoat" Gordiyevskiy, who throughout his entire adult life was allegedly struggling against a totalitarian system. He was so good at this that eventually he betrayed his oath, the Motherland, and at the same time abandoned his wife and two young children here. Comparatively recently there appeared the revelations of an anonymous "former operative," for whom the newspaper did not fail to put in a good word. Now we get a dialogue with a retired American intelligence service staffer. Let us see what turns up next....

Northeast Asia

Commentaries View Team Spirit, DPRK-ROK Ties

Gulf War Effects Assessed

SK1203035791 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Commentary by military and political affairs commentator Kozlov]

[Text] Repercussions from the war in the Persian Gulf, which has aroused great concern throughout the world, has also reached the Korean peninsula, a faraway place thousands and thousands km away from that region.

Under the pretext that the DPRK could possibly mount a southward invasion by taking advantage of the war in the Persian Gulf, the South Korean Armed Forces were put on combat readiness alert.

Pyongyang has taken a countermeasure, too. Military tension on the Korean peninsula has grown. Team Spirit, an annual U.S.-ROK mobile military exercise, [words indistinct].

Since the military (?equipment) is to be used quickly, the situation teetering between peace and war continues, even after [words indistinct] battles are ended.

Although Team Spirit is shortened in duration and scaled down in size, there is no question that it will be conducted this year. This fact causes a sharply negative reaction from Pyongyang, aggravates tensions between the North and South, and increases danger on the Korean peninsula, thereby eventually standing in the way of South-North dialogue. [passage indistinct] Now, however, the development in the Persian Gulf may have had some affirmative influence on the Korean peninsula. This is because the war in the Middle East may have served as a good excuse to stop the Team Spirit-91 mobile military exercise. This may have been a positive step for the DPRK.

This is because the Pentagon has not ruled out the possibility of discontinuing such an annual mobile exercise. Halting the military exercise for a few years cannot be a great loss in military terms.

The first step for reduced military tension can be made by South Korea, with the United States being allowed to take part. The trend of relaxing military tensions on the European Continent can be taken as a hint to Washington that a small concession in the military field can result in greater political advantage.

Other Models Studied

SK1203054791 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Aleksey Kondrachev commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] An examination of what the two sides call for clearly reveals that the situation on the peninsula is very complicated. [sentence indistinct]

Talks between the South and the North are called for on the one hand, but the degree of military confrontation is rising on the other. These are the two extremely different sides to the situation.

This situation, however, has its own logic of development. Two states built on different political and economic systems exist on the peninsula where the consanguineous people are divided. This bring into stark relief the very difficult problem, reunification.

How to realize reunification is a very troubling issue. As is known, the Vietnamese have achieved their national reunification by use of military force. It must be remembered, however, that it was at the cost of enormous sacrifice. Seven million lives had to be lost for the victory. In addition, it must be remembered that indescribable economic difficulties accompanied the victory, not to mention other kinds of difficulties.

It must also be remembered that the Vietnamese people's efforts for reunification were supported by foreign countries, including the Soviet Union.

Can the way the Vietnamese people have realized their reunification be applied to Korea? I am convinced that it can never be applied to Korea.

First of all, the confrontation between the South and the North is entirely different from Vietnam in terms of quality.

According to Pyongyang's statement, the ROK's possession of U.S. nuclear weapons cannot be ignored. Second, the situation in the international community has changed.

The world is moving toward peace, not confrontation. For example, the Soviet Union conducts its activity according to the dictate of national interest, not on its own whim. Even now, the Soviet Union is making efforts to establish peaceful relations with other countries.

Countries in Asia and the Pacific have embarked upon a road of trust and cooperation. It seems that the capital cities of the South and the North seem to have opened their eyes to such facts. These self-awakenings may have brought the two sides to the talks.

There are still some effects of the cold war, however. Seoul still fears a southward invasion. Seoul says that it conducts the Team Spirit military exercise to defend the South against such a southward invasion. The exercise began in 1976 and has been conducted annually ever since.

Pyongyang, however, rejects the South side's denunciation as such. Regrettably, the use of force and military confrontation limits the possibility of political dialogue to the extreme.

I am convinced that there can be no way of resolving the Korean question other than dialogue.

The reunification question, a sharp question in the eyes of the people on the Korean peninsula, cannot be achieved by following somebody else's advice. Moreover, it can never be achieved with unilateral directives from Seoul or Pyongyang.

I do not think that the reunification of Korea can be modeled on any other experience, for example the way the Germanys have achieved their reunification. It can be realized only in a common national way.

I would like to believe that the breakup of dialogue between the South and North will not be a long one.

Mutual 'Mistrust' Remains

SK1203102091 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] ROK Foreign Minister Yi Sang-ok has released a statement on foreign affairs in Seoul. Our station commentator Aleksey Nikolayev writes about it:

Who will deny the fact that a positive sign has appeared on the Korean peninsula and in its vicinity? Will this trend be irreversible? I would like to believe so.

The road toward changes will not be simple, however. Very many problems must be solved. Still, how to solve these problems is not clear.

The difficulties in North-South dialogue are a good example. The North and South have agreed that they must bring an end to military and political confrontation, and have held high-level talks. No agreement has been reached, however, and mistrust remains. The talks have been suspended because the U.S.-ROK Team Spirit military exercise has started again in the ROK.

From this perspective, it is important that the recent remark by the ROK foreign minister that Seoul hopes to promote a favorable situation on the Korean peninsula be followed by practical measures. The era clearly calls on Washington to express a new position.

As stated by Yi Sang-ok, the ROK will strengthen its alliance with the United States. On the contrary, Pyongyang considers it a threat to the stability of the DPRK and, moreover, its existence.

I absolutely agree to the remarks by the ROK foreign minister that it is inevitable to convene an international consultative meeting on maintaining peace in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union has always called for consultations among Asian countries and between them and their neighbors in the Asian-Pacific region. Objective preconditions have been provided for starting a broad-based dialogue on security affairs. As stated by the ROK foreign minister, the normalization of Soviet-ROK relations is an example. Seoul is optimistic about the prospects of its relations with Beijing. The talks between Pyongyang and Tokyo to normalize bilateral relations is of great significance. Also, I cannot help but consider the DPRK's great interest in its dialogue with the United States. I think that improving the situation on the Korean peninsula depends, first of all, upon whether or not the Korean people themselves will be able to overcome the cool relations between Seoul and Pyongyang. If I judge from the statement by the ROK foreign minister, Seoul does not have a clear-cut program to overcome the cool relations. In view of the stated goals of his foreign policy program, this program presents only general directions.

Exercises Seen as 'Provocation'

SK1303034291 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Sergey Petrov commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The Team Spirit joint military exercise started in 1976. The first exercise was conducted for 10 days and a total of (?106,000) troops were mobilized in it. Later, however, it has changed not only in its size and nature, but also in its goals.

Beginning with the exercise conducted in 1984, which a total of 207,000 troops took part in, Team Spirit was different in its nature and it has remained that way ever since.

What kind of Team Spirit do we see now, in 1991? First of all, the United States is now trying to demonstrate its willingness to provide its military allies in Asia and the Pacific with military aid during an emergency. At the same time, the ROK side has its eye on strengthening the stationing of U.S. troops and on improving the technological and strategic concept of joint military operations with its allies in the south of the peninsula.

According to military experts' observations, the Team Spirit military exercise has such a goal. The DPRK regards this military exercise as the beginning of aggression against the Republic.

It is also true that Soviet publications have recently tried to rate the Team Spirit somewhat modestly. When it comes to the time allotted to the military exercise, stress is put on the serious stage of the exercise. This means that attention is directed to the actual time that the field operation itself takes. According to this theory, the military exercise takes only 14 days. The rest of the exercise is not included in the calculation.

In other words, the time used to put the ROK Armed Forces and U.S. Forces stationed in the South of the peninsula on mobilization alert, to transport additional forces and military equipment from U.S. military bases in the Pacific, and to take them out of country when the exercise is over has not been taken into consideration.

When all such facts are taken into consideration, the time allotted for the military exercise is between two and two and a half months.

What kind of positive aspects are there to the military exercise? Beginning last year, it is smaller. Where (?180,000) troops were mobilized in the exercise in 1990, about 140,000 troops are involved in this year's exercise. In addition, military experts from Switzerland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were invited to observe the military exercise.

Even the DPRK was informed of this. The information went so far as to suggest that the United States was willing to discuss with Pyongyang anything that is related to Team Spirit.

Even so, lately there was no time for such a meeting. [sentence indistinct]

I consider the Team Spirit to be a dangerous military game. I think it is a military exercise that wields weapons that are capable of [words indistinct]. This is because under circumstances where the mistrust between the North and South [words indistinct] and the military [words indistinct] is approaching consummation, even a defensive exercise can be viewed as a provocation by the other side.

The Korean Central News Agency reported that a very dangerous provocation had taken place a few days ago, on 4 March. According to the news agency, guns were fired at the North in an area close to the Military Demarcation Line.

What promise can such incidents make? Would they not only increase tension? I also would like to stress the fact that Team Spirit is not the only ROK-U.S. joint military exercise.

They conducted an exercise called "Ulchi-89" in September 1989 and another exercise called "Toksuri-90" in November 1990. Such military acts by Seoul and Washington inevitably make Pyongyang take responsive steps. Pyongyang, which has a very complicated economic situation, inevitably spends enormous funds to safeguard its own security.

Even Seoul shoulders a staggering amount of expenditures for stationing U.S. troops. According to official data, each year the ROK spends $300 million for the upkeep of U.S. military bases and sets aside $1.9 billion from its national budget for the lease of land on which to deploy the Pentagon's military facilities. In this way, the ROK wastes an enormous amount of money to purchase U.S. weapons and for the joint military exercises. [sentence distinct]

The Soviet Union has played a great role in freezing the level of weapons supplied to the South and the North. It would also be very important to make a success of the talks between the United States, the DPRK, and the ROK—countries that are directly responsible for the settlement of the peninsula question—with the attendance of the Soviet Union and China.

Not only would this make the climate stable in the Northeast Asia as a whole, but it would also promise a solution to the reunification question of Korea.

Continued Japan-DPRK Talks, Normalizing Ties Eyed

Called 'Good News'

SK1303042091 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Commentary by Moscow Radio commentator Aleksey Kondrachev from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Today another round of talks for normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and the DPRK was held in Tokyo.

We would like to point out that the first talks between Japan and the DPRK was held late January.

We consider that the holding of second talks between the DPRK and Japan to be good news. It appears that Tokyo and Pyongyang are striving to remove a vacuum in the history of mutual relations. They are pushing for normalization of relations between the parties and the states.

Last year, leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] and Socialist Democratic Party [SDP], powerful political organizations in Japan, visited the DPRK. Some time ago, a delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] visited Japan.

During the meetings between these parties, concrete discussions on the past, the present and the future of Japan-DPRK relations were held. Points of common agreement were pointed out and differences in views between the two countries were also revealed.

Japan is responsible for colonial plunder and ruled over Korea from 1910 to 1945. Tokyo officially apologized for having inflicted pain on the Korean people during this period, and expressed readiness to discuss the issue of compensation.

Pyongyang also demanded compensation for post-war days, however. It is natural that time is required for both sides to reach an agreement.

What is at issue at present is the issue of nuclear weapons which exist on the Korean peninsula. Tokyo demands that Pyongyang opens its atomic reactors for inspection by the International Atomic Energy Organization.

Responding to this demand, Pyongyang proposed that the entire Korean peninsula be turned into a nuclear-free zone. For this, U.S. nuclear weapons should be withdrawn from the Korean peninsula.

The talks on Japan-DPRK relations will continue in the future. Direct exchanges between the two countries began very rapidly. It is clear that their relations should be normalized.

Such normalization will not basically change the situation on the Korean peninsula, however, and will neither demolish nor create the structure of confrontation created in this area and other regions during the cold-war period.

There are also difficult problems. Regrettably, the North-South talks were suspended. The ROK-U.S. military exercise, Team Spirit, is straining the situation to a certain degree. The second round of Pyongyang-Tokyo talks expressed hopes to remove confrontation and forge trust and cooperation among the nations within the area and reflected a trend of political development for all the Asia and Pacific region.

I believe that this trend has bright prospects.

Favorable to Regional Interests

SK1303080591 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Commentary by Moscow Radio commentator, Sergey Petrov, from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The first day of the second round of talks between the DPRK and Japan for the normalization of relations is 11 March. The talks are designed to discuss not only the issue of relations between two countries but also economic cooperation and international aspects pertaining to the overtures between the two countries.

The Japan Socialist Party [JSP] and the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] can be justly called the promoters of dialogue between the DPRK and Japan. In the course of contact between these two parties, a plan to begin dialogue between two nations for normalization of relations was formulated.

We would like to point out that the first round of intergovernmental talks was held in Pyongyang on 30 and 31 January. In the course of talks, differences in positions on solutions to a series of problems were exposed. There were several such differences.

For example, Pyongyang demanded the payment of approximately $10 billion as compensation for the consequences of Japan's colonial rule over Korea during the period from 1910 to 1945 and for the postwar time.

Tokyo has not agreed to this. The Japanese side stressed that its responsibility should be limited to the period before 1945. On the other hand, Japan demanded that the research atomic reactors [yongu wonjaro] in the DPRK be placed under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA].

Responding to this, Pyongyang has said that it agrees but demands the withdrawal of U.S. nulcear weapons from South Korea. The mission of finding a way out of the stalemate was given to the WPK delegation headed by Kim Yong-sun, secretary of the Committee for Eastern Affairs of the WPK [as heard] and deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, during a recent visit to Japan.

Judging from all this, Pyongyang has tried to determine the Japanese side's position toward areas of disagreement and to have Japan's support for Pyongyang's position during the official talks in Tokyo. In my opinion, Pyongyang's efforts would be (?realized) to a certain degree.

Kanemaru, a renowned LDP activist and former Japanese prime minsiter, clearly stated that compensation for postwar days should be made without fail. He also expressed the hope to become a mediator between the United States and the DPRK in connection with the nuclear issue.

I think that Pyongyang is interested in taking this issue out of dialogue with Tokyo.

Kim Yong-sun expressed readiness to hold talks with Washington at any time and to discuss a series of questions including the issue of inspection of the nuclear sites.

The agreement on exchanges between the WPK and the LDP and between the WPK and JSP and the agreement on developing cooperation in various domains including foreign policy, culture, sports and trade were an important outcome of Kim Yong-sun's visit to Japan.

In a word, necessary conditions are realized for effective continuation of the second round of talks.

Now, I must mention the ROK position toward expansion of contact between Japan and North Korea. Seoul expressed a certain worry over the rapid speed in the development of their relations.

According to Seoul's view, agreements between the WPK and LDP and between the WPK and JSP are [word indistinct] on mutual interests. The ROK also expressed its concern with the possibility of the growing military potentials of the DPRK as the result of economic cooperation with Japan.

In my opinion, however, such concern is exaggerated. Improvement in relations between the DPRK and Japan—close neighbors—corresponds to the interests of all nations in this region. This will also undoubtedly be an important factor for normalizing the overall situation of the Northeast Asia.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Peace Settlement Prospects Assessed

Foreign Ministry Official Comments

BK1303103091 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Report on an interview with (Valentin Sviridov), deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Far East and Indochina Department, by station correspondent Pyotr Chernov on the prospects for a Cambodian peace settlement—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Compared with the hazardous Persian Gulf crisis, which could erupt into a world war, the conflict in the Indochinese peninsula, meaning in Cambodia, will at least not pose such a great danger. As always, however, the situation there remains tense. It is regrettable that to date there is as yet no concrete prospect of an early end to the conflict.

What is the stumbling block to a Cambodian settlement? In his answer to this question raised by Comrade Pyotr Chernov, our correspondent, Comrade (Valentin Sviridov), deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Far East and Indochina Department, has the following comments:

The process of settling the situation in Cambodia, which has made moderately successful progress in the past one and a half years, is now at an impasse. Although the formulation of documents remains incomplete, it is however necessary to refer to the concrete situation. The real situation for the time being is that the Cambodian parties involved in the conflict have advanced conflicting interpretations on various peace documents mapped out by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The tripartite opposition resistance has unconditionally accepted the documents while the Government of the State of Cambodia has demanded improvement of the blueprints. In Phnom Penh's opinion, there is, at this stage, no sufficient guarantee that the UN plan will not allow for the flare-up of a new civil war in the country. According to the assessments of the five major countries, sponsors of the plan, for a settlement of the Cambodian problem, all the parties involved in the conflict should be placed on the same footing. It is exactly because of this that Phnom Penh has felt some logical concerns because the Polpotist gang has repeatedly shown its extremely aggressive nature. In light of the situation, the government of Comrade Hun Sen has earnestly demanded that a well-defined guarantee on prevention of a recurrence of the genocidal regime in

Cambodia be inserted in the aforementioned documents. Moreover, the Phnom Penh Government is worried that a UN control mechanism, which will be operative during the transitional period, will overact, infringing the activities of the State of Cambodia's administrative structure.

In the Soviet diplomat's opinion, it is logical to listen to Phnom Penh's view. By all appearances, the State of Cambodia's government at present has 90 percent of the territory under its control and ignorance of the concrete fact is unacceptable. It is necessary to use the period of time during which a settlement is to be worked out to promote mutual understanding among the contending parties. Efforts should be displayed with a view to deepening the understanding, because without the Cambodian parties themselves, Cambodia's problem can never see the light at the end of the tunnel, said the Soviet diplomat, adding that another aspect of no less significance is the military aid from outside.

In connection with this issue, I wish to recall that Vietnam has lately put forth a new initiative calling for a moratorium on arms shipments to all the Cambodian parties. The Soviet Union and the United States have presented this idea as well. In view of the aforesaid issue, the proposal by the Vietnamese side is unambiguously objective. Actually, countries assist in and permit the operation of arms shipments through their territory, meaning Thailand and Laos can pledge to stop the shipment of arms. According to our evaluation, at the current stage the initiative is completely realistic and constructive. It should not be forgotten that together with this objective, work on all the other aspects of the Cambodian problem should be simultaneously undertaken as well, Comrade Valentin Svirdov concluded.

Comprehensive Resolution Needed

91P50113A

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian in its 5 March 1991 Union Edition on page 5 publishes an article entitled "Stalemate Situation" by special correspondents B. Vasilyev and B. Vinogradov reporting from Phnom Penh on the status of Cambodian peace negotiations and prospects for a settlement. The article indicates that specialists believe the Khmer Rouge to be equipped with enough arms to conduct five to seven years of continuous combat actions. Under such circumstances, the article states, "the issue of a rapid end to foreign military aid assumes a special urgency. But to this day, no one, except for the Soviet Union which announced a moratorium on arms delivery to Cambodia, has made a single step in this direction. It is clear to all that neither a unilateral measure nor even a general agreement on the full cessation of military support will lead to the desired peace without a comprehensive resolution of the problems."

The article concludes with a statement made to a delegation from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace by USSR Ambassador to Cambodia Yuriy N. Myakotnykh. The ambassador characterized Cambodia's political atmosphere as a "stalemate situation, like in chess. Neither one of the sides is able to achieve success. It is necessary to search for a solution acceptable to all. It is difficult, but possible...."

Near East & South Asia

Churkin Writes on Soviet Gulf Involvement

LD1203214991 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—"An important precedent developed during the Gulf crisis: an international coalition against aggression formed and preserved its unity throughout the conflict," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin writes in today's issue of the Government Herald weekly.

He analyses the activities of the international community in stopping the Iraqi aggression.

The Soviet decision to align with the countries advocating Kuwait's liberation and the restoration of its sovereignty was not an easy thing to do, the spokesman writes. The USSR maintained broad relations with Iraq, helping it implement several projects and supplying weapons.

"Nevertheless, the Soviet Union's position to denounce and reject the aggression was as clear and unequivocal as that of most other members of the international community," Churkin" stresses.

Since the very start of the crisis, the activity of Soviet diplomacy was aimed at finding peaceful approaches to achieving the goal set by the international community: to liberate Kuwait.

The Soviet Union maintained contacts with all parties involved in the conflict: the United States, major European and virtually all Arab states.

Guided by the idea of limiting the loss of human life and destruction, the Soviet Union continued a search for a political ways out of the crisis even after the start of combat operations.

Moscow received the Iraqi foreign minister four times during the crisis, and the presidential envoy visited Baghdad three times. Leaders [passage indistinct]

Afghan Religious Figure Views Gulf War Consequences

91UF0541A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Mar 91 First Edition p 5

[Report on "discussion" with Nasrullah Hanifi, a prominent religious figure of Afghanistan and deputy chairman of the Islamic Party of Afghan People, by special correspondent P. Timofeyev: "Not Going Against His Conscience: A Subjective View of the Situation in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] Kabul-Moscow—None of my numerous meetings in Afghanistan escaped without a heated discussion of the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The war of the people of Iraq against non-Muslims and outsiders, as the Afghans say, is on everyone's lips. The tone and severity of the opinions diminish, as a rule, the higher the office held by one's interlocutor. But Kabul people's overall mood is uniform—a categorical condemnation of the actions of the allies and all sympathies on the side of Saddam Husayn.

The discussion with Nasrullah Hanifi, a prominent religious figure of the republic and deputy chairman of the Islamic Party of Afghan People, was typical. Despite his quite high position on the hierarchical ladder—Hanifi also leads the Peace Front, a most influential social and political organization uniting the country's eight most important parties—the conversation proved quite candid.

The dispute of two Muslim countries, Nasrullah Hanifi believes, should be resolved only by Muslim countries. The presence in the region of armed representatives of a different creed and the bloody carnage that they unleashed and that cannot fail to be condemned by all commonsensical mankind is a very great blasphemy from the standpoint of Islam. We ourselves would have resolved this dispute, had the Muslims merely been given sufficient time. Such rash actions in the East have never yet come to any good.

One can only wonder at the peremptoriness and haste with which the United Nations set about "resolving" this issue. The UN resolutions on Palestine and Afghanistan have gone unfulfilled for decades, and this troubles noone. This is the case merely because neither we nor Palestine has oil. Hanifi is sure that, were it not Kuwait, the United States and its allies would have found another excuse for starting a war against Iraq, which is really confronting the imperialist policy of the West.

What was most difficult for my partner was the question of the Soviet Union's role in respect to the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Our friendship is valued here, as before. After a pause, Hanifi apologized and said that, despite the laws of oriental hospitality, he could not go against his conscience. The Soviet Union, he believes, made a big mistake in supporting UN Security Council Resolution 660. The trust of the majority of Islamic countries in the USSR has been undermined. It will take many decades to restore it. The policy of the Muslims' great northern neighbor is now embodied for them in the policy of the United States, and the anti-American mood in the region has soared to unprecedented heights.

Only decisive actions on the part of Soviet diplomacy and a dialogue with all Muslim governments can now salvage the Soviet Union's prestige in the Islamic world.

On parting, Nasrullah Hanifi said that the true evaluation and significance of the recent events in the Persian Gulf would not be manifested tomorrow. The United States believes that it has won a victory, but this is a Pyrrhic victory. Saddam Husayn is not conquered, and there will appear quite soon alongside him dozens of new Iraqs with which the United States will be unable to cope....

Historian Views Possible Gulf War Implications

91UF0539A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Article by Professor Georgiy Mirskiy, doctor of historical sciences: "After Desert Storm"]

[Text] So, the war in the Gulf is over. Saddam Husayn was expecting to go down in history as a great commander and leader of the Arab world, but will remain in the memory of mankind as, perhaps, the most talentless adventurer of the 20th century.

Many prophets are in disgrace, and the ominous predictions have not been borne out. It was maintained, for example, that a war, if it erupted, would be long and severe, that the Iraqi Army would put up bitter resistance, that the allied forces would suffer dreadful losses.... Nothing of the sort happened. The first-rate military equipment left the Iraqi Armed Forces, which although also equipped with perfectly modern weapons were considerably inferior to the enemy in training, with no chance.

It was also predicted that Iraq would use chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction. But Husayn evidently realized that in this case he would be left with absolutely no chance of surviving as president of Iraq: he would be damned and spurned by the entire international community.

Nor was the Baghdad regime able to achieve its main goal, for whose sake, in fact, the whole crisis was unleashed: causing a great "commotion" throughout the Near East and organizing great upheavals in the Arab world in order to shake thrones and cause presidents to go head over heels. Although the Arab community as a whole had an extremely negative attitude toward the fact of the presence of American forces on the Arabian peninsula, Saddam Husayn did not succeed in raising a tremendous revolutionary anti-West wave under Islamic slogans. Where are these many thousands of volunteers rushing to assist the Iraqis, where is the awe-inspiring international terrorism of global proportions? Nor were the Iraqi rulers able to pull Israel into the war either: The latter displayed a restraint untraditional for it and did not respond blow for blow. The missiles fired at Israel, from which three persons died, were of only symbolic significance. As far, however, as the PLO is concerned, 'Arafat, having made common cause with Saddam, has seriously diminished the opportunities of his organization for a resumption of the dialogue with the West in the immediate future.

What, then, are the overall results? As a military power, Iraq has evidently ceased to exist for some time. The fate of the Saddam regime is in question, although the Iraqi people may not at this time, possibly, throw out the defeated dictator. But an anti-American mood could rise both in the "Third World" in general ("America is once again doing what it wants and dictating its will to the world") and in Arab countries in particular. The lightning rout of the military machine of the most powerful Arab country and the main strike force of the anti-Israel front, what is more, cannot fail to strike very painfully at Arabs' national pride. But at government level the prestige of the United States is growing worldwide: The leader of the "free world" was up to the job.

The Soviet Union could not prevent the switch of the conflict to a military phase or, equally, secure for Saddam Husayn an honorable way out of the impasse into which he had driven himself. It was not possible to prevent the destruction of Iraq's military and industrial potential, which would undoubtedly have been highly appreciated by Arab society. This is in a sense natural: A state's international importance depends to a tremendous extent on the state of its internal affairs, the authority and stability of the system that exists within it, and the capacity of its leadership for achieving recognition of its domestic policy in the outside world. It is in this respect that our affairs are currently far from dazzling.

Damascus-Based Opposition Urges Saddam Defeat

PM1203105991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Joint Statement"]

[Text] Damascus, 10 Mar—After the overthrow of Saddam Husayn a coalition government must be formed in Iraq which represents all strata of society and which will create an atmosphere of democracy in the country and grant freedom of activity to parties, trade unions, and the press.

This is declared in a joint statement published in the Syrian press today by the forces of the Damascus-based Iraqi opposition. The statement contains an appeal to Arab and Islamic states and other countries of the world to side with the Iraqi people and give them material and moral support.

Ayatollah Muhammad Taqiy Mudarrisi, leader of the Islamic Action Organization in Iraq, has sent a memorandum to the UN secretary general in which he urged that a meeting of the Security Council be convened to adopt a resolution prohibiting Baghdad from continuing the genocide against its own people and demanding the end of Saddam Husayn's dictatorship.

The "Iraqi Officers' Movement" has urged the Iraqi Army to side with the people to overthrow Saddam Husayn and save the motherland.

Iraq May See Emergence of Iranian Spiritual Figure

PM1203165591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 p 5

[A. Shumilin report: "Shadow of Khomeyni Over Iraq"]

[Text] Cairo-Algiers—In spite of the cease-fire and the active exchange of prisoners, tension in the allied camps is not abating. One of the most important questions is how to assess the scale of the uprising against Saddam Husayn in southern Iraq. With every day this uprising, mainly of the Shi'ites who make up 55 percent of Iraq's population, assumes ever more distinctive features of a mass religious movement. What is this—a version of the Shi'ite revolution in the south of the country, or a thoroughly planned export of this revolution from neighboring Iran?

The United States has requested Iran through diplomatic channels not to interfere in the internal affairs of neighboring Iraq. Today there are a few signs of such interference, however: First, a recent editorial in the TEHRAN TIMES which contained an appeal to Saddam Husayn to "leave Iraq's political arena for the good of his people, for the sake of averting further bloodshed," and second—and much more substantially—the granting of complete freedom of action to the "spiritual leader" of the Iraqi Shi'ites, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, who has been based in Tehran since 1980.

It is curious that al-Hakim is essentially an Iranian, a native of the city of Shiraz, the same city in which Ayatollah Khomeyni was born. He is said to be connected through family ties with the famous ayatollah. In any case, Ahmad Khomeyni, the ayatollah's son, is one of al-Hakim's closest friends. In 1983 the ayatollah himself appointed (!) al-Hakim the future "ruler of Iraq."

Indeed, in the eyes of Iraqi Shiites, Hujjat al-Islam al-Hakim has a good chance of becoming a "second Khomeyni." First, he is the son of a widely recognized spiritual teacher of the Iraqi Shi'ites who died in 1970. Second, since the beginning of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the persecution of Shi'ites in Iraq, the al-Hakim family has been the symbol of the "victimization" of the local Shi'ites—18 members of this family have been eliminated by Husayn.

In the opinion of many observers, however, in spite of the fact that al-Hakim has become the symbol of Shi'ite opposition to the regime of Saddam Husayn (who represents the Sunni minority in Iraq) his leadership chances, though great, are not incontestable. The point is that al-Hakim is a vehement supporter of Khomeyni's rigid religious-political concept. His well-known rigidity, maximalism, and uncompromising character noticeably frighten, for example, representatives of the bourgeoisie in southern Iraq.

A far from straightforward situation, as can be seen. Iran's positions in the region are noticeably strengthening; after all, as well as supporting the Shi'ite uprising in the south, Tehran is also actively supporting the uprising of the Kurds in the north. The rebels there already control several cities. The question for everyone today has the same focus: What are Tehran's efforts in this situation directed toward—the splitting, the disintegration of Iraq, or support of the demands of the rebels, which mean the preservation of Iraq as a single state in which all religious and national communities would be able to exist on the basis of equal rights and in conditions of federation and democracy?

Fighting in Iraq Continues, Outcome Predicted

LD1203213191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Fighting continues between troops loyal to Saddam Husayn and opposition units in Iraq. According to the latest information, the rebels have surrounded the Iraqi oil capital, the town of Karkuk, and are preparing to storm it. Aleksandr Levchenko, our correspondent in Amman, reports:

[Levchenko] [passage omitted] One's attitude is drawn to the fact that the U.S. Army is now a sort of observer. It is not preventing the [Republican] Guard from making short shrift of the rebels. The one thing that worries the U.S. military is the possible use of poisonous substances by the Iraqis—and this fear does have a very real basis: A couple of days ago, I was told by Iraqi friends that Iraqi military helicopters dropped leaflets in the town of (Himar) near this explosive region, calling on the population not to support the rebels, otherwise poisonous substances would be used.

It is only in such a case that U.S. troops have threatened to use force. The impression (?is growing) that the Bush Administration has taken a firm position of waiting: If the current leadership of Iraq stays in power, it will have dealings with it. But if not, help will be given to the new political figures appearing on the scene.

It is true that the prospect of the coming to power of Iraqi Shi'ite Muslims and of the country being turned into another Islamic republic does not thrill them much either, it seems.

The Iraqis with whom I managed to speak during my stay in Baghdad feel just as cool toward such a prospect. The best thing would be for things to remain as they are, said one Iraqi. I do not like the current leadership of the country for everything they have done, he said, but deliver me from living in a country ruled by religious fanatics.

East Europe

Moiseyev Holds Troop Withdrawal Talks in Poland

Poles To Demand Payment

LD1203181991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] It is reported from Warsaw that Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk, Polish minister of national defense, today received Army General Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and our country's first deputy defense minister. Comrade Moiseyev is in Warsaw in connection with talks about the transit of Soviet troops from Germany to the USSR, and also about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. I have just taken a DPA item from the teleprinter saying that, while talking to journalists, Army General Moiseyev said a final date for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland will be determined by the two countries' presidents—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Lech Walesa. Everyone immediately concluded from this that such a meeting—rumors about it had already been circulating—was, in effect, receiving confirmation.

It is interesting to note one other factor. According to Army General Moiseyev, troops from Germany will be withdrawn by sea and by rail. We are unlikely to use Polish roads, and the reason is clear. The Polish side is demanding very steep payment.

Accord Reached

LD1203235491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Mar (TASS)—After the conclusion of his talks in Warsaw, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, first deputy USSR minister of defense, told journalists that an accord has been reached on the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops deployed on Poland's territory in April-May this year, which opens up an opportunity of establishing the maximum deadline for their withdrawal during the next few rounds of the Soviet-Polish talks, if the Polish side shows flexibility in this issue. If necessary, the date of the final withdrawal of Soviet troops can be fixed during the expected high-level Soviet-Polish meeting.

The Soviet side is satisfied with the organization of the sea transportation to the USSR of units of the Western Group of Forces to be withdrawn, and in connection with this it lays no claims to organizing a large-scale transit of Soviet troops through Poland. In particular, the necessity of using motor vehicle transport disappears: Limited-scale railway transportation is possible.

West Europe

Turkish Leader's Visit, Gorbachev Talks Continue

12 Mar Talks Highlighted

LD1203160791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (TASS)—It was officially reported here today that the second and final meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and T. Ozal took place on 12 March. The presidents of the two friendly neighboring countries exchanged information on and assessments of the processes of internal development in the USSR and Turkey. During their detailed conversation they reached the conclusion that the profound reforms now being implemented in the USSR have quite a bit in common with those that have been carried out in recent years in the Turkish Republic. This creates a basis for an interesting and mutually useful exchange of experience and at the same time opens up additional opportunities to step up mutual cooperation. The presidents agreed to continue contacts on these subjects at various levels.

Special attention was paid to issues of cultural cooperation and to the peoples of the two countries becoming more fully acquainted with each other. M.S. Gorbachev expressed the idea that the ideals and practice of removing ideology from relations between states, something which is becoming ever more deeply woven into the fabric of the life of the world community, and at the same time the new atmosphere which is emerging in contacts between various world religions, are improving the international climate and freeing it from the confrontations of the past while creating extremely fruitful ground for interaction between cultures.

Having expressed support for this conclusion, T. Ozal voiced a number of practical considerations concerning ways of developing links between our peoples. In particular, prominence was given to the idea of the need to cooperate in the area of telecommunications, including the development of satellite and cable television. It was decided to work out in depth the possibilities in this sphere.

After this conversation, which lasted about two hours, the presidents were joined by ministers from both countries, who briefed the heads of state on the work they had done. It was noted, in particular, that two countries' approaches to the main international and regional problems and to the matter of forming a stable and peaceful world coincide, and that both sides are filled with the desire to invigorate the political, economic, and cultural exchanges between the USSR and Turkey in an all-round way. High targets for these exchanges were set for the future.

Summing up the results of the talks that have taken place, M.S. Gorbachev expressed profound satisfaction with their contents as well as their atmosphere. The acquaintance of the two presidents, he said, is acquiring stability and is rising to a new level of trust. T. Ozal, having supported this appraisal, stated that Turkey is among those countries that sincerely wish that the period of transition to the renewal of the Soviet Union should be successful. You are our neighbor, and a good neighbor, so your settlement of the issues the country is now facing has an exceptional significance to us.

T. Ozal invited M.S. Gorbachev to pay an official visit to Turkey when it suits the USSR president. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Ozal Holds News Conference

LD1203185191 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—At a news conference here today, President Turgut Ozal of the Republic of Turkey, who is currently here on an official visit, expressed deep satisfaction with the opportunity to visit the friendly Soviet Union at the invitation of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The visit is taking place on the days that coincide with the 70th anniversary of the signing of the treaty between Turkey and the Soviet Union. The treaty is the basis of relations between the two countries, Ozal emphasised.

The Turkish president said the visit would promote the development of relations of friendship, goodneighbourliness and cooperation and would contribute to elevating them to a level reflecting the true potential of relationship between the two countries.

"Besides, I regard my visit as a highly important element which contributes to strengthening peace and stability in Europe and in the world, particularly in the light of the events which we lived through recently," Turgut Ozal said in his introductory speech at the news conference.

Speaking about economic and trade cooperation, Ozal emphasised that in recent years, from the viewpoint of the development of reciprocal trade with the Soviet Union, Turkey ranked one of the first among the member-states of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Credits amounting to an aggregate of $1.050 billion were granted to the Soviet Union over the recent period.

The developing relations and contacts with the USSR have brought Turkish building contract firms to the Soviet market. They actively participate in various construction projects.

Building services being rendered by Turkish firms on the Soviet market will soon run at about $600 million. According to the Turkish president, the development of relations between the two countries will grow stronger as the process of reforms will get accelerated in the Soviet Union.

Ozal touched upon the idea of establishing a Black Sea area of economic cooperation. He believes that, due to such an approach, Black Sea countries will get opportunities for a constant and steady economic growth, a rise in living standards, an increased employment and more rational utilisation of their economic resources. In addition, this will help protect the environment in the region.

Touching upon the results of the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, Ozal said that in the spirit of complete mutual understanding they discussed relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union, the post-crisis Gulf situation and other bilateral and international matters of mutual interest.

Describing the treaty of friendship, goodneighbourliness, and cooperation which was signed between the Soviet Union and Turkey today and which places the two countries' relations on a new legal foundation in the spirit and within the framework of the CSCE process, the Turkish president said that the document "reaffirms the political will of the two sides to continue to develop bilateral relations".

Ozal told journalists about his meeting with President of the Russian Federation Legislature Boris Yeltsin today. He described the meeting as "useful and positive", stating that a desire to develop mutually beneficial relations with the Russian Federation is "natural".

Moving on to answers to journalists' questions, Ozal displayed particular caution in his evaluation of a post-crisis settlement in the Middle East. At the same time, he stressed the importance of studying the situation. "We did not sign any accords on a post-crisis settlement. We must see what the situation will be," Ozal said, recalling in particular, that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker would arrive in Moscow shortly to discuss these issues and would then visit Turkey.

Ozal said there are no differences between him and the president of the USSR over the Gulf crisis.

A post-crisis situation and accords to create a Gulf security system, Ozal believes, are being considered primarily by Arab states. Nevertheless, he made it clear that this problem concerns Turkey and the whole world, since it is associated with oil. "If necessary, Turkey will help resolve issues connected with security in the region," the Turkish president added.

In response to a question about the problem of ethnic Kurds in Turkey, Ozal said there was "misunderstanding" in the world in this respect.

A new law is now being prepared, he said. It is likely to "clarify all these misunderstandings", namely, that "the problem is connected with the rights of all members of Turkish society, not with ethnic roots."

Ozal Speaks at Kremlin Dinner

LD1203194491 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] March 12 TASS—President Turgut Ozal of the Republic of Turkey, who is currently in the Soviet Union on an official visit, voiced conviction about the need to work to secure that Soviet-Turkish relations "follow an upward trend all the time". He spoke at a dinner in the Kremlin today.

Positively evaluating the development of Soviet-Turkish cooperation in various fields in recent years, the Turkish president emphasised that in this sense today's signing of a treaty of friendship, goodneighbourliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey is "a new illustration of the political will of the sides to continue to act in the same spirit in future as well".

Speaking about the present-day world's quest for "new organsational forms and security concepts", Ozal voiced confidence that Turkey and the Soviet Union "will play an important role in a Europe of the future".

"Cooperation between our two countries will undoubtedly invigorate efforts towards the establishment of stability and cooperation in central and eastern Europe, and in the Balkan peninsula and will promote the realisation of the ideals set out in the Charter of Paris", Ozal stated.

Setting out Turkey's stand on issues concerning a settlement of the situation in the Near and Middle East", Ozal said that the first priority task now "Is to ensure the necessary conditions for the establishment of stable and lasting peace in the region and overcome the heavy consequences of the crisis".

Mentioning the positive experience of bilateral economic cooperation, Ozal noted that trade turnover between the Soviet Union and Turkey last year ran at $1.8 billion. A five billion mark has been planned for the coming two to three years.

The Turkish president voiced confidence that the two countries' economies, which are mutually complementary and possess a wealth of natural resources, industrial infrastructures and skilled labour force will make it possible to exceed that mark by far".

In conclusion Ozal invited Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev to visit Turkey "at the earliest possible date".

Gorbachev Makes Dinner Speech

PM1303115591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 91 Second Edition p 4

[Text of Gorbachev's speech at dinner in honor of Turkish President Turgut Ozal headlined: "USSR-Turkey: New Milestones]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President

Esteemed Mrs. Semra Ozal,

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades!

I am greeting you in the Kremlin, the historic center of the capital and the symbol of statehood for the dozens of peoples of our vast country.

Four-and-a-half years have passed since your first visit to Moscow as prime minister of the Turkish republic. Since that time our society has become different and the world, too, has changed.

The relations between our countries have changed noticeably, too, and for the better. I would like to make note of that right at the start, crediting this is to a large extent to our lofty guest.

And so we are all the more glad to see you, and your wife, and your colleagues here in Moscow.

We have held thorough conversations and talks with Mr. President. We have compared views on many questions, in a spirit of openness, benevolence, and mutual understanding, as should be done by neighbors who understand the significance of goodneighborliness, not only for themselves but also for the surrounding world.

Today, the world community is gradually entering a new era in its centuries-long development. Never before, perhaps, has it had such a vital need or the objective possiblity of working together on ensuring that international relations are constructed on the principles of equality and freedom of choice, taking account of mutual interests on the basis of the norms of generally recognized morality and law.

The state of the world in 10, 20, and perhaps 100 years will depend to a large extent on how and in what way today's problems are resolved.

The world is now at a critical juncture. Interethnic enmity, egoism, and aggressiveness, nurtured by centuries of inequality, wars, and invasions, inhuman living conditions, suspicions on an ideological and a religious basis, are breaking through into present-day politics. The past has left behind many grave problems. In order for the space of cooperation, common to all mankind, to be cleared of them, much work, patience, attention, goodwill and, of course, time, will be required. Encouraging, however, is that there is now greater understanding in the world that these problems cannot be resolved through confrontation, that the instruments of resolving them peacefully are already emerging, that there are more and more elements in common in the philosophy of foreign political action.

The best gurantee against rolling back is new steps in cooperation on transnational issues; in economic, scientific and technical, and cultural exchanges; and in free contact between people of various generations, convictions, and creeds.

In the past few years we, the USSR, and Turkey, have reached new boundaries in interrelations. We see the prospects for further progress. We are in favor of a full-fledged political dialogue at summit level between the two states, which does not rule out contacts, negotiations, and agreements at all other levels, taking into account the specific nature of the state system and present-day forms of cooperation.

Participation in the postwar settlement in the Near and Middle East is one of the topical spheres of Soviet-Turkish cooperation now. The conflict there has become a most serious test of the world community's ability to advance toward a new world order. We have done everything that depended on us in order to prevent excessive casualties and destruction. The main thing, after all, is that trust and the resoluteness to act together within the framework of the United Nations Organization have been preserved. A settlement to the situation in the Near and Middle East can and must become a major contribution to progress of modern world policy.

Our fundamental approaches are known. Their final, that is, human and humane sense consists in ensuring that peoples be freed, at last, from sufferings and losses paying for the crimes and ambitions of the rulers.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades! The Turkish republic has shown its capacity for great progress. Enviable successes have been achieved in policy and culture, in technical renewal, in the sphere of economy, and in creating the modern infrastructure of life. I think that those who have to deal with developing the whole variety of our two countries' links are indebted to their peoples. The objective need in their rapprochement, in a better knowledge of each other, in exchanging experience, knowledge, and spiritual values has considerably outstripped what we have achieved for the time being. One would wish that the significant visit by the Turkish state's leader in the USSR becomes an impulse for overcoming this lagging behind.

The same sea is washing our shores. It divided us at one time. We used to be hostile and wage war. Now we can say with confidence that the Black Sea is a sea of friendship and goodneighborliness. At President Ozal's initiative, which we have gladly supported, it may and will become a zone of prosperity and cooperation of all the coastal states and republics. Work on this project is already starting.

Our talks were useful and productive and passed in a good atmosphere. It seems that both sides agree that the hopes linked with this visit have justified themselves. So let us continue to act in the same spirit which has reigned throughout these days.

To the health of the president, Mr. Turgut Ozal, and his spouse, Mrs. Semra Ozal, to the well being of those present, to friendship and goodneighborliness between our countries and peoples!

Farewell Ceremony 13 Mar

LD1303103991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 13 Mar 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Oleg Polovko, Sergey Postanogov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 13 Mar (TASS)—A solemn farewell ceremony was held today in St. George's Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace for Turgut Ozal, president of the Turkish Republic, at the end of the Moscow part of his visit to the USSR. He is in the Soviet Union on a five-day official visit.

Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and other officials took part in the farewell ceremony. [passage omitted]

Belonogov Assesses Talks

LD1203175591 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The two days of talks between the Soviet and Turkish presidents were notable for their well-meaning atmosphere testifying to many years of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and their progressive development, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov told TASS, commenting on the Soviet-Turkish talks which ended here today and the agreements reached at these talks.

Belonogov stressed that of the three agreements signed during the talks in Moscow, the treaty of friendship, good-neighbourliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey deserves special mention.

The treaty is a major document in its scope and significance, Belonogov said. It embraces the most diverse spheres of interaction of the two states. It is aimed at the future and lays down a firm basis for comprehensive interaction between the two countries. It also crowns work that has been performed between the USSR and Turkey in recent years, Belonogov said. This is a substantial breakthrough, a transition of Soviet-Turkish relations to a new level.

Also of great importance are the other documents signed in Moscow, above all the long-term, ten-year agreement on trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, Belonogov said.

It envisages an increase of commodity turn-over between the two countries to $9-10 billion by the year 2000. "For comparison's sake," Belonogov said, "the volume of mutual deliveries amounted to less than $1 billion only two years ago".

"On the whole, we have made a considerable headway in relations with Turkey in many important respects," Belonogov stressed.

Cooperation With Turkey Seen on Various Levels

Medical Efforts Pooled

LD1203234491 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—This year opens up wide opportunities for large-scale cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey in the field of medical services. Major medical centres of the two countries intend to conduct joint research in the field of oncology, hematology, transplantology and immunology. They plan to pool their efforts in dealing with mother-and-child problems, contagious and professional [as received] diseases, head of the International Relations Department of the Soviet Health Ministry Eduard Kosenko told TASS.

Agreements have been reached on the exchange of experience of practical work in ophthalmology, traumatology and orthopaedia, environmental protection, the study of medicinal sources and emergency aid. "Our aim is to make available to people all the best accumulated by medicine in both countries," he said.

Less than a year ago, the health ministries of the two countries signed a treaty of cooperation in medicine. According to Kosenko, cooperation got off to a good start—energetic and business-like.

Cooperation between Soviet and Turkish medical workers is many-faceted. Pharmacy is one of its major divisions. Turkey will increase supplies of medicines to the Soviet Union, participate in joint production, start a network of pharmacies and medical stores in Soviet cities. Turkey's leading pharmaceutical firms Tekfen and Ekzicibasi have found partners in the Soviet Union, Kosenko said. They plan to establish, jointly with the Soviet Sovmed medical consultative firm, a balneological centre in the North Caucasus.

Another direction of joint efforts is training medical personnel. The exchange of doctors and medical students will begin this year. Physicians from the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan, which have signed agreements on cooperation with Turkey, will participate in the exchange.

"We appreciate the support by our Turkish colleagues of the World Health Organisation (WHO) programme to help minimize the medical consequences of the Chernobyl disaster and create a WHO centre outside Moscow to deal with these problems in Obninsk outside Moscow," Kosenko said.

Scientific Accord Reached

LD1303103791 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 13 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—A new intergovernmental agreement signed between the Soviet Union and Turkey on Tuesday will impart a new impulse to Soviet-Turkish scientific contacts, according to officials in the Soviet Committee on Science and technology.

Committee officials helped prepare the scientific part of the document. They said the agreement links industrial, scientific and technical cooperation and puts joint research on a commercial footing.

Soviet-Turkish scientific contacts have a solid legal foundation, committee expert Gennadiy Falunin believes.

The two countries have been developing cooperation since 1977, he said. The sides have achieved considerable progress in architecture and city building.

Under a new programme of scientific cooperation signed in January, Soviet and Turkish specialists have considerably expanded their joint research. They cooperate in the energy sector, genetic engineering, biotechnologies, space, geology, agriculture, transport and many other areas. Soviet and Turkish higher schools are also expected to establish close contacts. "Our countries face many common problems, for instance ways to prevent Black Sea pollution—we should tackle jointly," Falunin said.

In addition, there are problems determining the economic situation in the two countries. The Soviet side is eager to expand cooperation in construction—Turkey's strong point, he said.

The sides could set up a joint Soviet-Turkish construction association. Falunin spoke about financial problems in realising joint projects. However, "We are optimistic about the future," he said.

FRG SDP Chairman Views USSR Events

PM1203153791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Second Edition pp 1,5

[Report on an interview with H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, by correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "'We Do Not Want Chaos'"]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Mar—H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], called the USSR Supreme Soviet's recent ratification of a package of Soviet-German treaties a significant act. It marks the end of the postwar period and the postwar chapter in our relations, he said in conversation with a PRAVDA correspondent. A very good foundation has been established for the future development of Soviet-German cooperation.

"The ratification has shown that Mikhail Gorbachev is following the foreign policy line he laid down," H.-J. Vogel said. "There were people among the Soviet public, including the Supreme Soviet, lobbying at the very least for the question of a change in the Soviet side's position to be raised. Now it turns out that they were not representative. Following ratification of the treaties one can expect Soviet-German cooperation to acquire new momentum. This can be expected with regard to the process of building the common European home and further strengthening the structures of a peaceful order in Europe, as laid down by the CSCE, so that a united Europe can make a major contribution to safeguarding peace the world over. Our cooperation will benefit people in our countries and will assist the improvement of their living conditions.

"I cannot deny that some of the things we have heard, and sometimes seen, from the Soviet Union of late have caused us concern. I refer to Shevardnadze's resignation and the explanation for it, the television pictures from Vilnius in January, and the statements by certain forces who, we supposed, had finally become part of the past.

"We want to see the policy of perestroyka and glasnost continue. Obviously, such a policy can run into problems. But we believe that Mikhail Gorbachev has not discarded the goals of perestroyka which he placed in people's minds. Naturally, we do not want things to result in confrontation within the Soviet Union, let alone in a situation reminiscent of chaos or something resembling civil war. When President Gorbachev takes steps to prevent chaos, we are entirely sympathetic.

"We all, including the USSR, accepted in Helsinki the right of nations to self-determination and also the rights of ethnic minorities. In our view, this also assumes that people's striving for autonomy or separation should have the chance to change their state membership via an orderly process.

"In view of all this I believe that the upcoming referendum in the Soviet Union could assist the country's development in an orderly manner. I am particularly impressed by the fact that the referendum question talked about a federation of sovereign republics. In other words, no one intends to force any people to be in the federation against their will.

"We in West Europe have made great progress because we took the path to grand unification—European community and then European union. Therefore," the SPD chairman said in conclusion, "we can advise everyone not to go back to small state entities separated from one another, including economically, when the logic of present-day development demands large spaces. So, in my view, the upcoming referendum in the Soviet Union will be of major significance."

120,000 Troops to Leave FRG in 1991

LD1203171491 Hamburg DPA in German 1624 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Rostock DPA—A total of 120,000 Soviet soldiers and 30,000 civilians are to leave Germany and return to their homeland this year. According to the Rostock Senate today, 48,000 soldiers from Saxony-Anhalt and 35,000 from Brandenburg are to start their homeward journey via the Baltic ports of Rostock and Mukran during the next few weeks. The withdrawal of the approximately 400,000 Soviet Army personnel from former GDR territory is to be concluded by the end of 1994.

The senate spokesman further stated that the Soviet Army's property in the former GDR, valued at 10.3 billion marks, is to be put up for sale. The proceeds are to be used to meet the costs of refuse disposal and clearing up damage to the environment in the garrisons. Because the money will probably not be sufficient, the federal minister of finance has stated his readiness to make interim resources available until 30 June. Afterwards the local authorities will probably be "asked to pay up."

Supreme Soviet

Deputies Designated As Official Voting Observers

LD1203155691 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Soviet members of parliament leave today for their election districts. By its special decree issued on Monday, the Soviet parliament entrusted deputies with the right of being official observers to monitor [the] March 17 referendum on the Soviet Union's future.

The deputies should see to it that every citizen be given an opportunity to participate in the referendum. The parliamentary resolution adopted on Monday declares: "No matter what encroachments on the right of Soviet citizen to participate in the USSR referendum, any restrictions on this right contradict the USSR Constitution and are unlawful." Whenever needed, deputies have a right to compel law enforcement bodies to deal with violation and make those guilty responsible before law.

This notification is ever more topical since the authorities of six republics—Armenia, Georgia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia and Estonia—decided not to conduct an all-Union referendum in their territories.

But this does not mean that the referendum will not be held there. Late in February, the Soviet parliament adopted a decree permitting local councils, work collectives and public organisations at enterprises and in armed units to conduct referendum by themselves.

Going by reports received in Moscow, the collectives of many factories and plants in the Baltic republics and in Moldavia decided to use their constitutional right. The authorities of Abkhazia (an autonomy in the Georgian territory), and of Moldavian districts mostly inhabited by Bulgarians and Gagauz decided that they hold a referendum. This called forth the opposition from nationalistic groups and officials.

The Union parliament recalled that citizens' deprivation of the right to participate in a referendum runs counter not only to the constitution and laws of the USSR, but also to the universal declaration of human rights. The USSR Committee for Constitutional Compliance regards as unconstitutional any actions aimed at interference with the all-union referendum.

Nevertheless, the press cites ever more facts showing that in Georgia, Moldavia and some other republics there are plans to put obstacles to those who wish to take part in the referendum. This is why the decree of the Soviet parliament instructs the country's Office of Public Prosecutor and the Interior Ministry to take every necessary measure so that on March 17 every Soviet citizen has real opportunities to exercise his or her constitutional right during the USSR referendum.

Deputies Debate Yeltsin Speech 11 Mar

PM1203154391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 First Edition p 1

[S. Oganyan report under the general heading "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" and the rubric "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session": "Debates About Debates"]

[Text] Yesterday turned out to be the last day in the session's work before the recess connected with the USSR people's deputies' participation in the preparation and holding of the all-Union referendum.

As expected, the morning sitting began with sharp discussions in connection with the speech made on Saturday by B. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, in the House of Cinematographers, in which, inter alia, he, first, stated that the time has come to create a new powerful organized party based on democratic forces and, second, called on people to declare war on the country's leadership.

Having described B. Yeltsin's speech as anti-Soviet, Deputy S. Shuvalov made a proposal that the recording of the actual speech be heard first of all. A. Lukyanov reported that this was technically possible, and he put the deputy's proposal to the vote. A majority of parliamentarians (216) expressed their support, but...

At that point Deputy V. Samarin took the floor. I was in my electoral district yesterday, he said, and again I heard reproaches against us. You have so many meetings, people said, but you cannot make any sensible decisions. Political leaders are free to make their statements—today it's Yeltsin, tomorrow someone else, you can't keep up with them all, you cannot express your opinion on every matter. He was supported by V. Tsyurupa:

"Let us not get dragged into yet another squabble. People are irritated by our insistent desire to assess various events and then impose our assessments on everyone. Why should we advertize Yeltsin's latest speech?"

An increasingly wide circle of parliamentarians is being drawn into the discussion. Every time we discuss a situation connected with the head of the Russian Parliament, S. Tsyplyayev stated, in the end we become participants in a show for Yeltsin's benefit. G. Igityan assessed this circumstance rather differently. We are not a court or a prosecutor's office, he said. But if we have such a great desire to discuss B. Yeltsin's statement, then why are we ignoring M. Gorbachev's speech in Minsk? We have spent too much time criticizing people. The deputy proposed that instead of a having a discussion "on Yeltsin," they should discuss the critical situation in the country.

In the intervals between these speeches people reminded each other that since the Supreme Soviet had just adopted a decision to listen to the recording of Yeltsin's speech in the House of Cinematographers, then this must be done. But it was hard to stop the discussion.

We must not squander the high prestige of the members of the Supreme Soviet by talking on every subject, V. Lisitskiy noted. But, he continued, Yeltsin's speech contains an appeal to anticonstitutional actions and it would be a mistake to be silent here. The deputy had in mind the decision of the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to prosecute leaders of oblast soviets who simultaneously head CPSU obkoms [oblast committees], prohibited under Russian law.

Deputy Ye. Kim had already had the opportunity to express his view of B. Yeltsin's speech. The previous day he had been on the air twice—on the "Mayak" radio program during the day and on the "Vremya" program in the evening. He took the floor at this sitting too. We are not talking about an ordinary speech, the parliamentarian stressed. Yeltsin is calling for the destruction of the soviet system, he is declaring war on the center, he is dividing prosecutors into "ours" and "theirs"... In the deputy's opinion, these are very serious statements and the USSR general prosecutor should be approached so that he can give a legal assessment of such schemes. A note to this effect was handed to the chairman.

However, this was not the only note—on the initiative of Deputy V. Fedotovaya, the Cabinet of Ministers was instructed to answer to parliament on the reasons for the mass organized rise in retail prices in Moscow and Leningrad. In the deputy's opinion, all this is the work of the leadership of the Moscow City Soviet and the Leningrad City Soviet, which are exacerbating the situation in the country and causing dissatisfaction among the population with their illegal actions...

Returning to B. Yeltsin, deputy A. Zhuravlev noted: The speech of the chairman of the Russian Parliament should be published, because it makes a completely different impression if you hear it. He also proposed that they do not rush through the question, but that they put it in first place on the agenda and at the same time discuss the acute situation in the country.

It must be said that the majority of the deputies who were insisting on being able to listen to the tape, also wanted the electorate to hear B. Yeltsin's speech, as they should know the whole story, in V. Yarin's opinion. As for the parliamentarians themselves, then each of them had received a text in the morning and had had the chance to study it thoroughly.

As he has frequently done in the past, R. Medvedev finished the discussion in a logical way. We must keep calm, he said. Today we have come up against the de facto formation of a new large political party, and this does not contradict our Constitution. This is a normal process which foreshadows a serious battle in the Supreme Soviet. All this is in line with parliamentary traditions...

I have already said that the discussion was stormy. But it turned out to be quite rapid. In this report I have not mentioned the names of many deputies who had the floor and spoke with fervor. The most striking thing is that the whole thing took half an hour. A decision was taken that the recording of Yeltsin's speech would be played at the beginning of the interval and everyone who wanted to could listen to it.

Then the deputies moved onto the second reading of draft laws on the procedure for resolving individual labor disputes and making changes and amendments to USSR legislative acts on labor. Here there was practically no need for discussion. By the time of the break both laws were adopted in their entirety.

The new documents now set out a single procedure for resolving labor disputes for working people in all sectors. One of the components of the administrative-bureaucratic system is being abolished—the so-called number one list, containing all the people who did not have the legal right to defend themselves in court if they disagreed with orders to leave or transfer to a different job. There are 23 million such people in the country today.

Supreme Soviet Militia Law Supported

PM1203162591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by parliamentary observer Miroslav Buzhkevich under the "Parliamentary Week" rubric: "The Militia and Us"]

[Text] The country's parliament worked pretty productively last week. It ratified a number of international treaties, approved the draft law on state security organs on its first reading, and examined prospective members of the Security Council. However, I would like to consider just one topic—in connection with parliament's confirmation of the USSR Law on the Soviet Militia. This is why.

In our vocabulary "growth" occupies a special and permanent place. Once we were regularly, albeit only once a quarter, informed of the "per capita" growth indicators for the production of metal and oil, meat, butter, clothes, shoes, and television sets, although we were not very aware of this growth, rather the contrary. In the last 6 years the "growth" vector has patently altered course. All we hear about is the growth in stoppages, the growth in prices, and the growth in shortages of goods. Along with the growth in crime. This logic of present-day reality deals perhaps the greatest blow to people's morale and morality. In many cities people have become afraid to walk the streets in the evening and specially at night. Women refuse to work the second shift. In some places gangs of angry teenagers go on the rampage. And adult lawbreakers make a good living out of burglary, robbery, and organized crime. In short, to use the elegant legal stock phrase, the "crime situation" is disheartening, particularly to the population, which is why it voices fair and sometimes perhaps oversevere complaints against the law-enforcement agencies.

Although it is clear to everyone that the militia, with the best will in the world, is far from always able to counter the criminals and the hordes of hooligans. Its personnel lacks the legal rights, support of the local authorities, equipment, and crowd-control facilities for this. It may be hoped that with the adoption of the USSR Law on the Soviet Milita everything will change for the better. It should be noted that this is the first time that such a legislative act systematizing and defining all its problems has been adopted in our country.

The law is geared to people and the defense of their interests. The safeguarding of public order and the personal safety of citizens is set as the militia's prime basic task. The militia's open activity, accessible to citizens and the press, is in tune with the principles of legality, social justice, humanism, respect for the individual, and collaboration with labor collectives and the population. In discussing the draft law deputies raised the question of the militia's political independence. They agreed that a militiaman's appointment, transfer, or dismissal cannot be linked with his involvement in the activity of public organizations (including parties) or his attitude to religion. The parliamentarians instructed the Ministry of Internal Affairs to draft a new oath for militiamen to reflect the democratic changes which have taken place in our society's consciousness and be in full accord with the spirit of a rule-of-law state.

The growth in business initiative and people's enterprise is a sign of our times—we are en route to the market. In this "campaign" the role of the militia is a special one: It has to watch over the law. And it is not recommended that its personnel try their luck in commerce. The law forbids them to engage in any kind of enterprise or to hold hold another job in an enterprise or establishment, excluding scientific, teaching, and creative activity. Militiamen may not organize strikes or take part in them.

On reading the new law on the militia, coming into operation from the day of its publication in the press, many people will undoubtedly turn to the chapter demarcating the functions of union and republic militia. An extremely important step. In the rule-of-law state we are creating, every stage of authority's duties should be precisely described. In assessing how such differentiation of rights has been effected in this law it can be said that it has been done with full understanding of the aspirations of republic and also local soviets. Special satisfaction is afforded by the fact that the demarcation of the functions of the Union and republic militia ultimately serves to enhance the businesslike and professional integration of the personnel of bodies at all levels. Joint coordinated actions between them is capable of stemming the tide of organized crime and the narcotics business and enhancing the safeguarding of public order.

The arsenal of the militia's duties and rights has been reinforced. The following provision has appeared, for example: Measures are to be taken to ensure the personal safety and security of the property of witnesses or people who have assisted law-enforcement agencies in the prevention or detection of crimes. After all, more often than not a robber will be arrested, but witnesses on being asked to make statements will tell the militiamen that they saw nothing. People are afraid of criminals taking revenge. Now they are protected by the law.

Or another innovation. Henceforth the militia is obliged to participate in the implementation of measures concerning environmental protection, ecological safety, and the use of natural resources.

Perhaps the most long-awaited right now obtained by the militia is the right to carry out measures to detect crimes in the sphere of the economy. These measures would take a long time to list. I will say only that this right frees the hands of the personnel of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department and their colleagues from other militia services, particularly in the fight against mismanagement and sabotage, which result in empty shelves in the stores.

This is perhaps the first time that the legal status and social protection of militiamen has been so extensively enshrined in a law. As representatives of state power, they come under its protection. The protection of the life, health, honor, and the property of the members of their families is also envisaged. Finally, militiamen will now be able to appeal to a court against decisions taken against them by internal affairs organs. They are also covered by compulsory state personal insurance. They will be compensated for overtime work and work on days off and holidays. All this will make the profession of a militiaman more materially and socially attractive.

Now for a few thoughts provoked by everyday life. Who has not heard a young mother's innocent threat to a mischievous child: "Stop or I'll hand you over to the militiamen!" Uncle militiaman is thus used to intimidate. Who's guilty here? Both sides, I think. Many mothers do this in all simplicity: In their minds someone in uniform (mostly a militiaman) represents stern authority capable of instantly quelling a naughty child. This threat is thus a kind of compliment to the militiaman and his ability to maintain order.

But another view is possible. Quite a few members of the militia, particularly the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate (please note that I am not a driver myself), regard virtually every citizen as a potential violater of law and order. And they often maintain an arrogant, prejudiced, and insulting attitude toward citizens. If you add to this the fact that you also come across militia officials, and quite a few of them too, who enter into illegal deals with traders and fall into the "clutches" of unscrupulous cooperative members and entrepreneurs, it is understandable why the rating of "my militia" is low rather than the contrary.

The Law on the Soviet Militia will work effectively when the militia itself gets rid of those of its number who sully its uniform and degrade its prestige. When we too finally grasp how complex, difficult, and responsible the work of someone wearing the militia uniform is. When we grasp and support his desire to cleanse society and the country of criminal pollution. Incidentally, the law being discussed here today contains an article which says that it is the duty of the country's citizens to assist the militia in safeguarding public order in every way.

The militia and us: Faced with growing crime today, we must unite, for our interests fully coincide. A law to strengthen the powers and rights of the militia and its links with the people has been adopted. What's to be done now? It is perhaps time that the criminal world felt the strength of our society!

Special Powers Demanded by Premier Scored

PM1103145191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Russian 9 Mar 91 p 1

[S. Razin article: "Why Should the New Prime Minister Have Special Powers?"]

[Excerpt] When he resigned, the former head of government warned that the country would remember him one day. It seems that the time has already come.

The new prime minister began his activity with the exchange of large-denomination bank notes. But this is nothing compared with what he still intends to do. Presenting to parliament a draft law on the Cabinet of Ministers, V. Pavlov demanded that the deputies grant him the power to adopt economic decisions that have the validity of presidential decrees and parliamentary resolutions.

The idea appeared in the press that the prime minister apparently needs such exceptional powers in order to "circumvent obstacles" and deftly by-pass the conservative parliament and perform a double-time forced march to the market. This is an original idea. However, so far a quick march has been performed only by the old team of ministers, who entered the new Cabinet en masse.

The prime minister could be asked other questions too. If he is wholeheartedly for the market, then why have representatives of the military-industrial complex been given key posts in the government? Naturally the defense sectors have continued in their previous form and with their previous allowance. The only ones that have been "unlucky" are the aviation and space industries, which have been put under one roof. But to make up for it the whole defense industry has been declared an enterprise-free zone. The highly important sector of the economy, which produces almost all sophisticated household equipment in the country, is not threatened with privatization, the lease system, or demonopolization in the near future.

By all accounts, the new prime minister intends to move toward the market according to his own decisions, ignoring the economic sovereignty of republics. It is by no means an accident that the department structure has safely survived "perestroyka." Forty-eight ministries and departments remain out of over 60. This is higher than the analogous indicator in Stalin's time. Admittedly, the coal, timber, metallurgical, and a number of other sectors, which are completely disorganized, are no longer under union authority. So are we to suppose that the miners must go with their complaints not to the union government but the republic one?

And what will the prime minister say about his program? All the various market illusions have dispersed like a morning mist here, since he has already publicly promised to develop heavy industry, which is 80 percent militarized, as a top priority. Without batting an eyelid, Pavlov explained to the deputies: "To restore order we need to adopt many unpopular measures and carry out quite tough decisions to implement them. It is scarcely advisable to expect applause for everything."

It is depressing, but it is a fact that while the democrats are holding rallies and arguing among themselves, the administrative system is step by step taking by storm the bastions it had lost. And the economy is again becoming a patrolled economy, opening up good prospects for the "die-hards" of the military-industrial complex. Will this last long?

I will make so bold as to suggest that internecine strife is not just undermining the motley democratic movement. A clear split has begun to appear on the other side of the barricades too.

An unusually heated debate flared up in parliament when the prime minister demanded exceptional powers for himself. He was subjected to tough pressure from the deputies.

The deputies' obstinacy came as a surprise to the head of the government. After the rotation, when many members of the interregional group left the USSR Supreme Soviet, it resembled an all-union party economic aktiv. It would have seemed that the prime minister could have boldly submitted his draft for examination. And suddenly—mutiny on board?

"Tomorrow we will grant such powers to the Supreme Court and the USSR General Prosecutor, we will give everything away and the Supreme Soviet will have nothing left. I am not exaggerating, this is very serious," deputy Yu. Kalmykov said, expressing a common concern.

The easiest thing would be to interpret this as the deputies' fear for their future. If this carries on, then where is the need for a parliament? However, subsequent events have brought to mind other reflections.

Following in the footsteps of the Cabinet of Ministers, the security officers also demanded special powers for themselves, presenting to the Supreme Soviet a draft law on the KGB. Apparently the military-industrial complex is trying to carry out a "velvet" transition to strict diktat from the center by concentrating executive and legislative power in their own hands.

So, an exciting plot is unfolding in the theater of the times of perestroyka, with the participation of the three "P's"—the prime minister, parliament, and the president. The prime minister's sympathies are more or less clear. But in my opinion the positions of parliament and the president are not so obvious.

"Gorbachev as a man will not lead us toward dictatorship. His character and mentality are not geared to that. I believe that he is dedicated to democratic transformations and reform in the economy. But forces are now forming around him that are pushing him toward some kind of tough methods," N. Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], believes.

Other eyewitnesses of the events are expressing a similar viewpoint. Deputy V. Alksnis is declaring publicly that "Gorbachev has betrayed us and is now sinking." And Prime Minister Pavlov, having exposed a treacherous "conspiracy" among Western bankers, has essentially cut the president off from foreign creditors, thus limiting his financial independence from the nomenklatura apparatus. [Passage omitted]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Refuses To Meet Striking Miners

LD1203130791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The striking miners of Vorkuta and Inta are insisting on direct talks with the leadership of the country. Delegations from various coal-mining basins are already in Moscow. TASS, quoting unnamed sources in the government, says that talks are only possible when the mines are working.

The total picture of mine strikes today is this: In Vorkuta and Donetsk basins one third of the miners are not working; in Kemerovo two mines out of a hundred. According to the trade union paper TRUD there are also strikes in the Pechora basin and in a number of mines in Rostov oblast. In Dnepropetrovsk only one mine is not working. According to incomplete data, the shortfall of coal is about 300,000 tonnes.

The strikers are demanding a meeting with Gorbachev. Half an hour ago, I spoke to officials at the president's press service who said that at the moment the leader of the country considers a meeting with the strikers inexpedient. According to them, the president of the USSR is sufficiently well informed about the evolution of the conflict. For a month ago Vice President Yanayev visited the Kuzbass. Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the Union parliament, spoke to the miners two days ago, and he handed the president a package of the miners' demands. Furthermore, Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic leader, met the miners' delegations yesterday.

Text of PRAVDA Article on Martial Law

PM1203155791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[M. Tretyakov article in response to reader's letter; first paragraph is reader's letter: "A Sharp Shock: Reminiscences Inspired by Some Speeches and Publications." Excerpts from the article were published in the 12 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 52, column two, under the headline "Martial Law Seen As Stabilizer.]

[Text] "Politics is now intruding upon our daily lives. Wherever you look, people everywhere are talking about one thing: What is in store for us tomorrow. Some people have been making analogies and expressing fears that martial law is going to be introduced in our country as it was in Poland in December 1981. What were things like there then? Could you tell us about it?

"Ye. Neklyudova, Moscow"

Indeed, if you listen to some speeches and read some articles on the situation in our country a feeling of gloom does descend. Our homegrown pundits are painting daunting pictures of casualties, the blood that is bound to flow, and a return to the times of the Stalinist repressions. Are we really going to have go through all that in the near future? I do not think so; I believe that "prophecies" of this kind will never be realized. However, the constant speeches from parliamentary platforms, television screens, and in the newspapers claiming that we face the threat of the introduction of martial law, direct presidential rule, and the use of other emergency measures fills people's minds with concern.

You have to be very naive not to understand what is behind all this—it is a political power struggle. I should then like to recall the dramatic events of the early eighties in Poland that unfolded before my very eyes and where I was a frequent direct participant as a foreign correspondent.

The power struggle divided Polish society and invaded families and enterprises. The center's economic directives were ignored, the country was gripped by continuous strikes and rallies on any pretext, reciprocal deliveries of goods were not met, the shelves in the stores were depressingly empty, there were long lines for basic essentials, and people lost their faith in the future. By December social tension had reached an extreme pitch beyond which the specter of anarchy and civil war loomed.

The radicals who by that time had gained the upper hand in the Solidarity leadership planned a general strike for 17 December 1981. They believed it would develop into direct confrontation with the state structures. It was stated: "The authorities must be told openly: This will be their last battle."

Thus the situation left two solutions: Either the authorities adopt emergency measures or there would be a fratricidal confrontation. As the development of events showed later, the majority of the Polish people realized that fact. The introduction of martial law is viewed in different ways now. Some express the opinion that it was almost a declaration of war against their own people. However, many consider that it was an enforced measure preventing the collapse of Polish society and saving many lives.

What happened on that frosty December night? On 12 December 1981 I was at the Gdansk shipyard where a meeting of the Solidarity leadership was in progress. A fundamental question was being decided: Whether to call a general strike or not. The hands on the clock were approaching 2200 hours. A report came in that the telephone link with the shipyard had been interrupted. Then it became known that telephone lines had been cut throughout Gdansk and there were no communications with other cities. At that dramatic moment the decision to call a general strike was taken.

It is hard to say what the trade union association's leaders were thinking about and what they were guided by when they voted for or against the proposed decision, and how they saw Poland's future. We left the shipyard in alarm, still not fully aware of the tragic nature of the situation that had come about even though it was already clear at that time that the authorities were bound to react accordingly. But what reaction?

On returning to the hotel where many Solidarity leaders were also staying, I ordered some hot tea (the night was frosty) and I asked to be woken at 0500 hours to catch the Gdansk-Warsaw express train. During the night the trade union leaders were interned or, more simply, detained. That same night throughout the country leaders of organizations trying to seize power and representatives of the country's previous political leadership were interned.

After arriving in Warsaw I learned at the foreign correspondents' press center that martial law had been imposed without casualties, leaving aside one Krakow resident who, hearing a report on what had happened, committed suicide by throwing himself out of a window. When the people of Warsaw woke up on that sunny, frosty morning of 13 December—it was a Sunday—they saw an unfamiliar picture on the capital's streets: armored personnel carriers, army patrols, and portable braziers where soldiers were keeping themselves warm.

The radio and television regularly broadcast decrees and other documents of the Military Council of National Salvation stating all power in the country had been transferred in accordance with the decision of the republic's State Council. Military commissars turned up at enterprises and institutions to help establish a normal pace of work and organize production processes.

Anarchy and the uncontrolled development of the situation were averted and there began the difficult process of establishing order, first and foremost in the economy. It must be said that Polish society as a whole viewed these emergency measures with understanding and with the hope that at last forces had been found to save the country from collapse and chaos.

People were at the end of their tether, they had grown tired of the constant psychological pressure and intimidation. They viewed the future with alarm and were worried for those near to them. Winter was approaching and promised to be cold. There was no fuel to heat the cities and villages—the mines were working below strength and the miners' labor productivity had fallen rapidly because of the constant strikes and rallies whose organizers were operating according to the antipeople principle of "the worse it is for the country, the better it is for us." This principle is a very familiar one in the political power struggle.

What did Poland gain such a radical measure as martial law? The domestic political situation stabilized. The decline in production was halted and a gradual increase in production was noted. Consumer goods began to appear in the stores. So as not to bore the reader with figures I shall cite just one example: Coal extraction in 1982 was over 30 million tonnes higher than the previous year. It must be said that coal occupies a key position in the Polish economy.

Admittedly, certain circles in the West were counting on a change of power in Poland in December 1981 and mounted a propaganda campaign in the mass media. They ascribed the economic successes following the introduction of martial law to fear, saying that behind every Polish worker there was a soldier with a gun. They released this "canard" without even bothering to consider where that many soldiers could be found. The West imposed an economic blockade on Poland, thereby inflicting tremendous material damage on the country. Yet for understandable reasons the Western mass media tried to avoid that fact.

At that time some other foreign correspondents and I visited the Wujek mine in the center of Katowice where tragedy had struck in the frosty days of late December 1981. The Polish press had reported that a group of irresponsible elements using terror and intimidation had organized a strike at the mine and had attacked representatives of the public order forces. Fatalities resulted. We went down the mine to a depth of 680 meters, where there was no one apart from the miners, of course—no soldiers, no guns. When the Western journalists asked the miners where their uniformed supervisors were, they treated the question as a joke.

Of course, martial law is not pleasant, and to consider it a panacea would be simply naive. It is an exceptional measure, one enforced by circumstances to save a disintegrating state organism. Or to be more precise, it is political shock therapy used in those circumstances when there is simply no other way to rouse a society disoriented by the hysteria of mass rallies. It is a sharp shock to cool those hotheads who, in pursuit of their own arrogant aims, are prepared to use extreme measures including bloody struggle, acting against the will of the overwhelming majority and embroiling inexperienced youngsters first and foremost in this.

Almost 10 years have passed since the December events in Poland. But they still arouse heated disputes, discussions, and different assessments. Harsh measures cannot be the driving force behind society's development, of course. However, there are times when delay in using them can mean huge human casualties and material damage. The point is to implement them within the framework of the strict observance of the rule of law.

MVD Official Views Role in Maintaining Order

LD1203143691 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Over the past two years Soviet interior troops helped maintain public order and liquidate inter- ethnic conflicts in 17 different regions of the country. Often they acted as chief guarantors of security and order in stressful situations, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Soviet Interior Ministry [MVD] Troops General Valeriy Starikov told a news conference here today.

He said last year interior troops detained nearly 140,000 people for different offenses and seized more than 7,000 firearms, more than 2,000 explosive contraptions and large amounts of ammunition.

Arms were used by interior troops in the line of duty as the last resort and only in exceptional cases. A formal statement was made in each case, and the prosecutor was informed immediately. All cases of the use of arms by interior troops have so far been recognised as lawful.

The news conference was told that since February 1988 twenty soldiers and nine officers were killed in clashes when settling inter-ethnic conflicts in Transcaucasia, Central Asia and other parts of the country. About 1,300 interior troops have been injured or wounded, including gun shot wounds.

In addition to their direct functions under Soviet legislation, interior troops often assumed other functions, such as helping secure supplies of essentials and maintain the operation of vital communal services in areas under the state of emergency.

At present, interior troops are busy not only protecting people in South Ossetia but have installed moveable power generators, organized the provision of hot food to the population and help in evacuating women and children to safe places.

At present, Soviet interior troops are deployed in seven regions of the USSR, outside their regular dislocation areas. These are regions where inter-ethnic conflicts have led or are threatening to lead to bloodshed.

Despite numerous difficulties, deputy head of the military- political department of the Soviet Interior Ministry Troops Yevgeniy Nechaev told the news conference, interior troops are ready to act to ensure order, security, peace and normal conditions for people's life and work.

n Treaty, Referendum

LD1203172491 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Work on the elaboration of a draft Union treaty was rather laborious. At times matters went to the lengths of ultimatums, Grigoriy Revenko, adviser to the president of the USSR, told a news conference here today.

Speaking about the peripeteia of the elaboration of the document which has been sent out to the republics, he emphasised that, although the plenipotentiary representatives of republics "introduced alternative wordings and expressed dissenting opinions" about a number of articles of the draft Union treaty, on the whole it can be reckoned that the work on the document proceeded successfully.

The plenipotentiary representatives of 26 republics—eight union republics and 18 former autonomous republics—took part in the work on the suggested draft treaty and signed a protocol to this effect, Revenko said.

Representatives of Azerbaijan as well as some representatives of the Russian-speaking people of Estonia were present during the work as observers.

Absent were representatives of three Baltic republics (but they have separate delegations for talks), Georgia, Moldavia, the Nakhichevan and Adzhar republics.

As a result of the discussions, Revenko said, the majority of basic wordings and, what is most important, the concept of a future union—have been left intact. A number of articles were formulated more democratically, Revenko said.

The foreign policy issue remains open to debate. Work on it will be continued, Revenko added.

He supposed that the discussion of the draft Union treaty in the republics would take one month or more. Taking into account the diversity of republican parliaments' opinions, another meeting of representatives would then suggested [as received] to work out a final wording of the document. Then the Federation Council is to fix a date and decide on the holding of a congress of representatives to sign the treaty.

Relations with those republics which will not sign the treaty will be based for "a certain period" on the existing constitution and legislation of the USSR, Revenko said.

Speaking about the forthcoming March 17 all-Union referendum, Revenko announced that President Mikhail Gorbachev would deliver a televised address on the eve of the referendum.

If some republic votes for withdrawal from the USSR, Revenko said, it will be granted such a right under the provisions of the law existing in the USSR because "equality and voluntariness constitute the principle of a new renewed Union."

Primakov Interviewed on Referendum Position

LD1203222691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Academician Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov by correspondent Viktor Lyubovtsev; place and date not given—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Lyubovtsev] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, just a few days are left before the all-Union referendum. What could you say, advise, about it today, just several days prior, to our fellow countrymen, who have perhaps not yet decided how they will vote on 17 March—who are perhaps confused to a certain extent by the contradictory and, putting it bluntly, opposing calls and slogans they can hear from various directions?

[Primakov] You know, first and foremost I would advise them to understand what they are voting for, because certain people are now trying to replace the very subject of the voting. I am not saying this to cause a riot, so to speak. I have heard the speeches transmitted at meetings. I have heard certain speeches on the television. The following is often being said: If you say "yes," then you are saying yes to the shortcomings of the center. But for pity's sake, the referendum is absolutely not about this. The center does have shortcomings. The central bodies have both shortcomings in work and mistakes, and much has not been done, and this has to be criticized. We need to talk about this, but the referendum is not about this. At the referendum we need to say "yes" to a united state, while if somebody votes "no," then he is voting against a united state, against the union, and for the disintegration of our state. That is what it is about.

[Lyubovtsev] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, among the criticisms that can be heard about the forthcoming referendum, there is also the following, that the question itself is incorrectly formulated from a juridical point of view.

[Primakov] You know, I can honestly say that I think the question could be formulated far better.

[Lyubovtsev, interrupting] More accurately.

[Primakov] More accurately than it is formulated, because what is the task above all else? It consists of obtaining an answer to the question: Do our people want the preservation of a united state, which has won a position in the whole world and which has been in existence for many centuries? That's what the question is about, or they want the disintegration of that state. All kinds of formulations lead one away somewhat from this question. In general, they make the subject itself or the resolving of this super-task somewhat amorphous. All of this is so. But it is now too late to think about this matter, and too late to think about substituting some kind of formulations. There is a formulation, and one needs to know firmly that those who say "yes" are talking about the existence of a united Soviet Union. Those who say "no" are speaking in favor of splitting up the Soviet Union into small states. I want to repeat once more: The main thing at the referendum is the question of whether there will be a united state.

[Lyubovtsev] And will it be renewed, federal, democratic, as formulated in the question?

[Primakov] Undoubtedly, because if the matter was about the need to return to the past, to return to a totalitarian state, to return to a state under which, in which, there were republics without rights, which were only subject to dictatorship from the center, then I would, for example, not be able to find the boldness to address our viewers with a call to vote "for." But, the matter is about the fact that we wish to build a renewed union, a new union, which is based upon the sovereignty of the republics, on the sovereignty of these states which come into a united state, into a united union.

[Lyubovtsev] Incidentally, the old totalitarian state would hardly put forward any kind of question at all for a referendum on its own existence. It contradicts the essence of totalitarianism.

[Primakov] Well, there could be some kind of demonstrations in the past also. They did occur in the past. I would not even put categorical questions in this way. But the fact remains that we are now going toward a new union. We are going away from deformations that took place in the past, and not back to these deformations.

Possible Results of Signing Petitions Cited

PM1203123391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Second Edition p 8

[A. Mikhaylov report: "An Old Trick—How the 'People's Opinion' Is Obtained"]

[Text] "Should there or should there not be a USSR?" This, the very critical question of the forthcoming referendum, is acquiring in certain newspapers' presentation the nuance: "Gorbachev or Yeltsin?" Our readers, especially Muscovites, are worried, for example, as to why the newspaper KURANTY presents on its first page the aims of the "democrats": "Yes to Russia's question, No to the center's." Surely Moscow City Soviet is not a branch of "Democratic Russia," and surely it contains other opinions?

In any case, the supposedly independent KURANTY no longer hides its sympathies for the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, unsparing as it is of epithets in its publicity for him, and trumpeting M. Gorbachev's "low popularity rating." By way of evidence the newspaper features an extremely curious selection of letters from the localities. Thus it is claimed that an overwhelming number (in all around 300 people) of workers belonging to the Moscow Consumers' Society "Proletariy" advocate the immediate resignation of Gorbachev, and support the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian Government.

There are already more than enough attacks on our president in our press from "left-wingers who are really right-wingers," but for some reason there is a silence over the indignation of the collectives, which are still in unequal conditions compared to cooperatives. Some people are earning crumbs on which all manner of taxes are levied; others "rake in millions." In short, I ask General Director V. Shakhin to speak about the claims.

"Well, last month we had a general meeting in connection with the organization of a joint-stock company," Boris Nikolayevich replied, "and no grievances, as they say, were expressed vis-a-vis the president. There were no rallies calling for his immediate resignation."

"But KURANTY reports that there are about 300 people calling for his resignation..."

"In the first place there are about 1,500 people in the association," my collocutor explained. "That is some majority! The feature in the newspaper came as a complete surprise to us. And there is only one activist of the 'socialist trade union' actively 'coming forward,' so to speak. Once, he collected signatures for a prepared text and sent it to a newspaper very like KURANTY, causing consternation in the collective."

The second letter, from the Moscow Institute of Chemical Machine Building—where, according to reports, about 200 staffers "support the idea of transferring power to the Federation Council and forming a government of people's trust"—also attracts attention by the way it is served up.

It turns out that here too signatures were collected for a prepared text. Party Committee Secretary V. Babiyevskiy and I try to speak with one of the "collectors": How, by whom, and on what principle is the "government of people's trust" to be formed? Who will determine the degree to which it represents 'the people"?

After a short conversation it became clear that our collocutor (we agreed not to give his name) has a very hazy idea of the mechanism for realizing the slogans put forward. In brief, "a people's government is a government which the people trusts."

A faculty leader replied as follows:

"Yes, students came and asked me to put my signature, so I signed..."

The examples cited by KURANTY, if you investigate them, enable the inference to be made that the shaping of the "people's opinion" in support of one leader and against another is at times being carried out in the old fashion that has been so much derided. Today there are many autograph collectors wandering around collectives. Is it not therefore time to think about what responsibility you are assuming in putting your signature to a document containing a slogan of which you know nothing?

Poll Shows Split Attitude

LD1303112291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Mar 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The views of those taking part in a January poll on the conclusion of a Union treaty, conducted by the all-Union center for the study of public opinion, are divided almost equally: 36 percent believe that a Union treaty should be concluded as soon as possible, while 37 percent think that it is essential to first ensure the real sovereignty of the republics, and only then to speak of concluding a Union treaty. [remaining percentage not accounted for]

Republican Groups Lobby for Referendum

LD1203175791 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Supporters of the unity of the USSR in Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia intend to participate in the March 17 all-Union referendum on the future of the USSR despite the republican authorities' boycott of the referendum.

In accordance with the Soviet Parliament resolution passed in February, local councils, work collectives and public associations at enterprises and military units have been granted the right to independently set up referendum commissions where this was not done by local authorities.

In the Baltics, a pro-referendum "Daugavpils Initiative" movement has been set up. It unites chairmen of local self-government bodies coming out in favour of a renewed federation.

On March 17 the referendum will be held in cities and enterprises with predominantly Russian-speaking population. On March 3, simultaneously with the all-Estonia plebiscite, the pro-Union supporters took opinion polls on the subject "on a trial basis", with 79 per cent of Narva respondents, 65 per cent of those in Kohtla Jarve and almost 90 per cent in Sillamae declared for a sovereign Estonia within the union.

In Georgia, polling stations in military units and some institutions have been already set up for all those wishing to be able to take part in the polling, the LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, newspaper of the Transcaucasian Military District, reported.

A particularly active campaign to counteract the holding of the referendum is being conducted by Moldavian authorities. All towns and districts of the republic were toured by 1,700 government emissaries who put pressure on those who want to participate in the referendum.

Moldavian First Deputy Prime Minister Constantin Oborok threatened that special lists would be compiled marking out the attitude of this or that person to the referendum. Such lists will be kept "for future generations" as well, Oborok said.

Propaganda Strategy Reported

91UN1040A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 10, Mar 91 p 3

["An excerpt from methodology materials of the CPSU Moscow city committee 'Actions That Might Be Undertaken by Party Committees for Their Participation in the Preparation and Realization of the Referendum on Preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics'" under the rubric: "Pro and Con": "Without Describing in Detail"]

[Text] A defeat of the referendum may have especially serious consequences for those who initiated it: It will be actively used to discredit the state power and the CPSU and it will affect the development of destructive phenomena in every republic and in our country in general. Let us suppose that slightly over 50 percent of the population take part in the voting and that two-thirds of them say "yes" to the indivisible Union—this will amount to not more than two-fifths of the total population and the legitimacy of the decision from the political point of view will be rather vulnerable.

With all these conditions in mind, the party committees should undertake a coordinated, directed effort to intensify their political propaganda to achieve positive results in the referendum.

The propaganda campaign before the referendum should be:

1. strictly behavior-directed: In other words, it should not aim to clarify some or other positions and their nuances (in the present situation only a small part of the intelligentsia is susceptible to it). It should stimulate directly the required behavior and the required vote, without being ashamed of slogans such as "Vote for Preservation of the Union!" or of direct appeals such as "Moscow Stands for the Union."

2. emphasizing consolidation, i.e. finding support in factors capable of bonding people around the "yes" vote (such as "Both Yeltsin and Gorbachev Stand for Preservation of the Union," without describing in detail which type of Union each of them stands for).

3. directed fully toward a single purpose: In other words, it should have a single focus without even a mention of other versions, according to the following principle: "Preservation of the Union is the only condition of at least somewhat normal life; it is the only chance to improve it." No "accompanying" targets should be included by any means, such as an increase of CPSU influence;

4. as mass-directed as possible, i.e. fill all available mass media channels (not excluding the fact that propaganda should be differentiated).

Possible concepts for slogans and posters:

Muscovites! Do Not Trust Forecasters Who Are Always Wrong. Say "Yes."
Your Motherland Is Calling on You—Say "Yes."
Mommy! Save My Future. Come and Say "Yes."
Let There Be Peace in Your Home. "Yes"..."Yes"..."Yes"...
Let There Always Be Blue Sky...Say "Yes."

Referendum Question Oversimplified

91UN1040B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 10, Mar 91 p 3

[Message from the coordinating council of the Democratic Russia movement: "Some Hidden Motive"]

[Text] On 17 March, all of us have to go to the election precinct to say our "yes" or our "no." Do not yield to the Philistine apathy and grumbling such as: "Enough! We are fed up! This is not going to influence anything anyway!... Let them vote themselves!..." If the voice of the people has no influence then the bureaucrats would not spend 100 million rubles on a referendum, they would not put so much energy into hollering, in a thousand of voices: "Vote for the Union!"

Apart from that, the question on the all-Union ballot sheet has been phrased so that one can go crazy trying to figure out a sensible response. One gets the impression that the phrasing was done by some official of the Soviet trade system who is well versed in selling "compulsory additional purchases." Do you have to have a cake of laundry soap? There you are, but only if you also buy the three volumes of Chernenko's speeches...

Why, do you think, the abbreviation USSR was expanded in the question? You must have decided that it is a simple description of the geographical borders of the country that has to be restored? Nothing of the kind! This innocent expansion allows the whole world to be informed after the referendum that the Soviet people confirmed their "socialist choice" or, in other words, rejected private property and market economy!

We are convinced and we openly state that the Union referendum is being thrust on us for reasons other than studying public opinion. The referendum is being conducted with the purpose of sanctifying, through "the will of the people," the antinational dictatorship that has been prepared and is already being introduced in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Baltics, and some other regions. It is being done to exhume Stalinist policies, to preserve the totalitarian regime that brought our great country to the extremes in our lack of any rights, in our poverty, and in our humiliation. There can be no doubt that, to reach this goal, our partocracy will spare no expense or will falsify anything. That is the reason why all of us have to go to the polling stations on 17 March and pronounce our emphatic "No" in response to the question of the all-Union referendum.

But if we say "yes" to the question of the **Russian referendum**, we will help to break down the shameful blockade of Russia, we will support Yeltsin and his team in their fight for the transformation of our republic into an independent democratic and flourishing state. Such a state will definitely enter a powerful, voluntary alliance with other similar states: the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belorussia, Lithuania, and all the others that have been forced to stay in the camp of hungry "socialist" republics from where they strive to run away as far as they possibly can.

[Signed] Coordinating Council of the Democratic Russia Movement.

KGB on German Attempt To Disrupt Referendum

LD0703171791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1623 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 7 Mar (tass)—We are transmitting a statement by the press center of the Committee of State Security:

"The directorate of the USSR KGB [Committee for State Security] for the Leningrad Oblast and the main directorate of internal affairs of the Leningrad Oblast and town executive committee have halted in its preparation stage a provocatory action of the foreign organization, the people's labor union, aimed at disrupting and discrediting the forthcoming union-wide referendum.

It has been established that the center of the people's labor union sent instructions signed by a certain (Frizen) to its supporters on 19 February on the carrying out of a widescale boycott of the referendum on the territory of our country, with the aim of compromising this important political event.

Besides this, the text of a pamphlet with analoguous appeals was sent to persons who had declared themselves to be members of the people's labor union and the instruction was issued "without fail to duplicate it by hook or by crook" and to distribute it to the maximum possible number of private addresses of Soviet citizens.

Carrying out the directive of the foreign subversion center, Yevdokimov, Aleksandrov, Shtamm, and the Pogosyan brothers, members of the people's labor union in Leningrad, produced more than 2,500 copies of the given pamphlets and 22 copies of the instructions of the people's labor union center on equipment of a state enterprise, but were detained while attempting to distribute the printed material.

It is perplexing when, in conditions where relations of mutual respect and trust are being established between Germany and the USSR, and when the USSR Supreme Soviet is ratifying treaties concerning the German settlement and the future of Soviet-German relations, activists from the headquarters of the people's labor union in Frankfurt-am-Main and their patrons across the ocean consider it possible to not only cast a cloud on this historically significant process, but also to openly interfere in the domestic affairs of our country".

Background of New KGB Draft Law Explained

91UF0535A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 Mar 91 p 2

[Report on interview with Colonel of Justice Semen Yenokovich Martirosov, candidate of juridical sciences and official of the USSR KGB Inspection Directorate, by Andrey Trushkin; date and place not given: "Intelligence and the Law—What the Law on Organs of USSR State Security Will Be"]

[Text]*Semen Yenokovich Martirosov is a colonel of justice and a candidate of juridical sciences. He has been in the KGB for more than 25 years. He has been in operational and investigative work, a graduate student, a teacher in the USSR KGB Higher School, a consultant in the legal service, and the chief of a department of the scientific-research institute of this committee. At present he is an official of the USSR KGB Inspection Directorate.[end italics]*

[Trushkin] Semen Yenokovich, the chairman of the USSR KGB has talked more than once about the draft law that is being prepared on USSR state security organs. At the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the president also mentioned it twice, if I am not mistaken. Could you tell us whether there is a draft of such a law? Who is preparing it?

[Martirosov] Such a document exists. It was presented to the Supreme Soviet at the end of last year by the USSR Council of Ministers. Unfortunately, the draft was not reviewed then, as I understand it, because of an unusually heavy agenda. The draft was developed through the joint efforts of employees of the USSR KGB and competent specialists from other departments.

[Trushkin] Is it not a paradox that the law is being prepared by employees of the committee itself, and not by a group, for example, of independent experts. Could this not influence the objectivity of the draft?

[Martirosov] Independent experts? But where do you get them "from the outside?" We cannot invite specialists from the CIA or the FBI to prepare the document. And, indeed, where does one find competent specialists on Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence, if not in the "competent organs" themselves?

As for our draft law, then, in the first place, it was reviewed more than once in all sections of the KGB system; second, it was sent out more than once for comments to interested central offices of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the procuracy, the Supreme Court, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice...

The draft was also considered in committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet, including by specialists who are knowledgeable on questions of defense and state security.

The draft was also seen in the governments of all of the Union republics. Almost all of them supported it on the whole. Is it really possible after this to say that the draft was prepared only by KGB employees and that a priori it does not deserve trust?

At the same time, I am far from considering the document ideal. Very likely, not everything in it is that smooth. But then we will have to work hard on it after it is considered by the people's deputies.

[Trushkin] So it turns out that until now, for more than a half century, the KGB has operated outside the law and according to its own discretion?

[Martirosov] The state security organs, in recent decades in any case, have not done anything at their own discretion, and they are not. Their functions, rights, and duties are defined by appropriate legislative acts of the supreme organs of state authority and administration of the country.

For example, there is a statute on the Committee for State Security under the USSR Council of Ministers that was approved more than 30 years ago, in the year 1959 (true, not by the supreme organ of state authority of the country, but by the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee). This document, and an overwhelming part of subsequent ones, is secret. In other words, the public has not read them and, consequently, it has not had an opportunity to evaluate their constitutionality, and to monitor their practical application. This is hardly normal.

So that all of this not only does not correspond to the principles of a rule of law state, but also creates difficulties for the KGB organs themselves and grounds for unjustified attacks on them. Therefore, our employees themselves are interested in the new, public law.

[Trushkin] Were there alternative versions of your draft? And, if there were, did you read them?

[Martirosov] I became familiar with the work of Lieutenant Colonel Morozov, a KGB employee. In it he reflects on the redesign of the structure and the changes in the functions of the committee and on principles of security.

Last year, a document was disseminated among the USSR Supreme Soviet deputy corps called "On Reform of the System of the Country's Security." It was signed by 22 USSR people's deputies, headed by Yu. Ryzhkov. It also contained quite a few interesting ideas. Practically all of them are taken into account in our draft.

[Trushkin] Semen Yenokovich, you and I find ourselves in a strange situation—we are talking about the draft of a law which none of our readers have even set their eyes on. Why has it not been published yet?

[Martirosov] We did not want to print "raw material," and that is the entire reason. You will agree that no writer publishes an unpolished work, and a movie director will not let a film roll that has not been edited. What then can one say about an important law. Now that the draft has been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet, they may promulgate it.

[Trushkin] One frequently has occasion to hear about the intelligence systems of the KGB, voluntary "helpers" from among the citizenry, and other unpublicized methods of work of your department. What could you tell us about this? Are these questions reflected in the draft law?

[Martirosov] Of course. KGB organs are permitted to conduct operational-investigative work with the employment, in particular, of video tape recordings, movie photography, and sound recorders. This is talked about unambiguously in legislation on criminal legal procedure.

We are also permitted to listen to telephone conversations, but only on one condition—after the institution of specific criminal proceedings. The law also permits operational-investigative work using special systems to detect indications of a crime.

As for the secret helpers, the draft states that in conducting measures to guarantee state security the organs of state security have the right to utilize the help of citizens with their concurrence on a public or secret basis.

By the way, here is an interesting detail. Recently, while reading the Old Testament, I came upon the story about how twice during the exodus of the sons of Israel from Egypt the kings resorted to the help of secret "spies." On prompting from the Most High, Moses sent 12 of his helpers on a secret reconnaissance of the land of Canaan, and Joshua the son of Nun sent two spies to Jericho. It was with the help of the local woman Rahab that they obtained extremely valuable information on the mood of the residents of Jericho. What is most interesting, the acts of their secret helper subsequently were given high marks by the evangelists—the apostles of Jesus Christ.

All modern states also have intelligence services. They use both the newest equipment and voluntary helpers in operations. The right to do this, in contrast to our country, is provided for and regulated in detail by laws that, among other things, recommend to citizens that they help the intelligence services in every way possible and safeguard classified information that affects national security.

For example, Great Britain's 1985 law on tapping communications lines establishes a complete ban on such operations and is a slackening in the "interests of national security; the prevention or exposure of crime; or the defense of the economic well-being of the United Kingdom."

A law was adopted in the United States "On the Protection of Intelligence Personnel," which stipulates punishment of from three to 10 years imprisonment and a fine of from $10,000 to $15,000 (taking various circumstances into account) for the deliberate publication of information about persons who are secret agents.

[Trushkin] Does the draft resolve the question of party membership for employees of state security organs?

[Martirosov] They must not feel the dictates of political parties and other public associations that pursue political aims, but they must be guided by the law only.

I am confident that adoption of the law on state security organs will clarify many questions that are not clear to the public, that it will strengthen trust in these organs, and that it will promote an increase in the effectiveness of their activity, which our society needs.

Court Sends Hijacker to Insane Asylum

LD0503113591 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 5 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Troyanovskiy]

[Text] Novgorod March 5 TASS—The Novgorod regional court has sentenced the hijacker of a passenger flight en route from Novgorod to Petrozavodsk to forced treatment in a psychiatric hospital.

N. Selivanov hijacked the Yak-40 plane with 21 passengers aboard and a five-man crew to Helsinki on October 5 last year.

Two months later the hijacker was handed over to Soviet authorities.

Investigators found out that the hijacker had already been treated at a psychiatric hospital and declared him insane.

Arkhangelsk Hijacker Commits Suicide

LD0503125291 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 5 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk March 5 TASS—A Soviet man who hijacked a domestic flight on Monday died on the way to hospital after exploding a homemade bomb, KGB officials in Arkhangelsk reported today.

The man, identified only as Dubovtsev, was born in 1959, and was a resident of the city of Kotlas in Arkhangelsk region, the KGB said.

On Monday, the crew of the AN-24 plane en route from Kotlas to Leningrad received a note, ordering them to change course to Stockholm or be blown up.

The plane had 26 passengers, including three children.

At 16:13 the airliner landed at Leningrad's Pulkovo Airport. After negotiations with the hijacker all the passengers were released.

During a detention operation the hijacker blew himself up with a homemade explosive device, KGB said. He died on the way to hospital.

Until 1987 Dubovtsev was registered as a multiple-drug addict.

In the past few years he had shunned treatment.

Authorities have begun criminal proceedings in the wake of the incident.

Comparison of Federation Council Meeting Report

PM0703104591

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 March 1991 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a TASS report on the USSR Federation Council's 6 March sitting. The PRAVDA item entitled "USSR Federation Council Sitting," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 7 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 34, revealing the following variations:

column one, paragraph two sentence one reads: in the Kremlin 6 March under the chairmanship... (subbing "6 March" for "today")

column one, paragraph three sentence two reads: precise. The council adopted the draft union treaty as its basis and referred it for consideration by republic supreme soviets. It will be published in the press.

The council heard... (retranslating, adding sentence, picking up paragraph three)

column one, paragraph four last sentence reads: normalise the situation.

After hearing a report delivered by V.G. Ardzinb, chairman of the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, the Federation Council issued an appropriate instruction.

The Federation Council... (inserting paragraph, picking up paragraph four)

column one, paragraph five, sentence two reads: to give a sharp boost to this work and ensure absolute restoration of economic... (adding "sharp" and "absolute".)

Moscow TV Carries Kryuchkov Address

LD0603043191

Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1848 GMT on 5 March carries the recorded address by Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 5 March. The Moscow television version has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 6 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT revealing the following variations:

column one, paragraph one, reads: [Text] Today the country's Supreme Soviet held separate sessions of its chambers. At both the morning and afternoon sessions, the Soviet of the Union discussed and adopted the first reading of the draft law on the organs of state security in the USSR. A report was delivered by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB.

[Begin Kryuchkov recording] Esteemed comrade deputies:

First of all,...(deleting dateline and introductory paragraph in TASS version, adding television announcer's introduction, recording notation, and Kryuchkov greeting);

column one, paragraph two, end of the only sentence reads: the current session. For over a year now we have been preparing for this occasion, which is an event for us. As you know, by dint of the position occupied in the past by the organs of state security and the state system that we have at the moment, this question has become the subject of vigorous and committed discussions not only in our country, but also abroad. A lot of interesting, useful, and, at the same time, unpleasant things have been heard during this time.

Since the end of 1989, and especially since the beginning of 1990, a noisy campaign of attacks began abroad and in our press against the organs of state security and their members, much of which was unfounded. At the same time, there have been many articles in which we found much that was of interest and use for us. The path to where we are today has been exciting but complex. But the day has arrived. We are glad about this, because a law which will be known by everybody, both in the Soviet Union and abroad, is being presented today for the first time in the history of the state security organs.

There is great... (supplying additional material);

column one, paragraph three, end of sentence four reads: freedoms of citizens. This is the most important thing. I am sure... (supplying additional sentence);

column one, paragraph four, end of the last sentence reads: and structural transformations. But this is only the beginning of the path on which we have embarked.

The radical restructuring... (supplying additional sentence, deleting word "however," picking up paragraph five, sentence one);

column one, paragraph six, from the end of the last sentence reads: upon to resolve. I do not think that there is much need to prove this.

It should be... (supplying additional sentence);

column one, paragraph seven, end of sentence one, reads: a secret nature. Society does not know about them. At the same... (supplying additional sentence);

column one, same paragraph, sentence two reads: rights of citizens—and sometimes in a substantial way. Consequently, such a... (rephrasing);

column one, same paragraph, end of last sentence reads: public for all. This is, I think, one of the most important and fundamental points.

The absence of... (supplying additional sentence);

column two, paragraph nine, end of only sentence reads: number of specialists and organizations.

Members of a... (supplying additional words);

column two, first complete paragraph, end of the last sentence reads: of Union republics. We actively studied foreign experience and borrowed a thing or two from it.

While the attutude... (supplying additional sentence);

column two, second complete paragraph, end of last sentence reads: area of administration? And which should come first?

Such a question... (supplying additional sentence);

column two, penultimate paragraph, end of sentence one reads: been drawn up. Such a upheld, in particular, by a group of people's deputies headed by Comrade Ryzhov. In this connection.... (supplying additional sentence);

Page 24, column one first complete paragraph, end of the last sentence reads: of the country, especially as there is much apprehension in society about the path to be taken and the way in which state security organs will operate?

There is another... (supplying additional phrase);

column one, sith complete paragraph, end of the last sentence reads: something legally established.

A significant place in the draft is occupied by questions pertaining to the relationship between state security organs and USSR citizens and other persons. Several articles are devoted to these particular problems. In our view, citizens' interests have been heeded in a sufficiently full way. Reliable guarantees for the rigorous observance of their interests have been provided.

The genuine legal... (supplying additional material);

page 25, column two, seventh complete paragraph, last sentence reads...and public structures.

A prominent place...(deleting "Comrades"):

column two, antepenultimate paragraph, end of the last sentence reads: and the provinces. But I think the principle of the indivisibility of security is a most important one. If we were to break up security in our homeland into regions, republics, nooks and crannies, then I think there is no worse damage we could do to security. In any state security is indivisible. I think that if this principle were to be violated, it would be difficult to even imagine the consequences of the harm that might be done.

Comrade deputies!

I must mention...(supplying additional material).

Economic

Pavlov, Silayev Reach Accord on Price Rises

LD1203233291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2200 GMT 12 Mar 91

[INTERFAX-attributed report from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The compensatory payments in connection with price increases will begin on 20 March. The actual new prices will be introduced on 20 April. Shops will be closed for inventory during the weekend on the eve of the increases. This is the agreement reached at the meeting of the two premiers—Pavlov and Silayev.

Strikes, Rallies Continue in Kuznetsk Coal Basin

Situation 'More Complicated'

LD1203171891 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo, Western Siberia March 12 TASS—The situation in the Kuznetsk coal basin, Kuzbass, is getting more complicated as two mine-building organisations have joined four striking collieries in the cities of Novokuznetsk, Kiselevsk and Berezovskiy.

Rallies continue at several collieries to determine a form of support for the demands of Kuzbass workers' committees.

Workers of the Belovo railway junction opposed the idea of holding an indefinite political strike, put forward by an association of Kuzbass workers' committees. They believe that disorganisation of production and disrespect for law will not bring more goods to shops.

In their opinion, only discipline and fulfilment of reciprocal commitments would take the region out of the current crisis.

Belovo railwaywen are strongly in favour of preserving the country's unity and urge fellow railway workers from other regions to say yes during the March 17 referendum.

Workers of the Orsk-Khalilovo metal plant, where a blast furnace has already been stopped for lack of raw materials and coke production is threatened with shutdown, called on the miners to be reasonable.

Further on Strikes Situation

LD1203232191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (TASS)—Miners' strikes are continuing in the main coal-extracting regions of the Soviet Union. Strikes are taking place in the Kuznetsk, Donetsk, and Pechora basins, and at a number of mines in Rostov Oblast. At some enterprises work has completely stopped, while at others, extraction work is being done, but the off-loading of coal to consumers is not.

A group of representatives of strike committees from a number of miners' towns spoke out in Donetsk today in favor of expanding the strike movement, at a meeting of the regional union of strike committees of the Donbass.

At the same time, in the town of Krasnoarmeysk, in Donetsk oblast, collectives of railway workers came out against continuing the strikes, which since 1 March have inflicted a loss of 518,000 rubles on the railway collective.

In Rostov oblast, seven mines out of 49 are continuing the strike. Losses there from halting extraction amount daily to about 18,000 tonnes of fuel. Labor collectives at four Don mines—named after the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the "Sokolovskaya", "Ayutinskaya," and "Glubokaya" of the "Rostovugol" association, began work today after a 1-day warning strike.

In the Pechora Basin, five Vorkuta mines did not extract coal today, and a quarter of dayshift miners were on strike. All Inta mines worked normally. To date, the loss from the strike amounts to about 100,000 tonnes of coal.

The council of Kuzbass workers' committees, at a regular meeting in Novokuznetsk, decided to appeal to miners in the coal basin to hold an indefinite political strike, the main demand of which should be the resignation of the USSR president.

Three mines out of more than 100 coal enterprises were not working today in the Kuzbass.

Emergency Council Session in Kuzbass

LD1303100591 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 13 Mar 91

[By correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo March 13 TASS—The Regional Council of People's Deputies began an emergency session here today to discuss social and political tensions in Kuzbass.

Lawmakers met in the wake of an appeal by the Council of Workers' Committees to miners to hold a political strike to demand President Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation. Several mines ground to a halt on Tuesday.

On Tuesday, the council's Presidium said that strikes worsened living conditions in Kuzbass and provoked economic chaos.

The Presidium called on all parties and movements in Kuzbass to concentrate on ways to improve food supplies in the area, land reforms and law and order.

R500 Limit on Savings Bank Withdrawals Lifted

PM1203143191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 91 Moscow Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, POSTFACTUM, REUTER, UPI roundup: "Restriction on Cash Withdrawals Lifted"]

[Text] Speaking at the All-Union Leaseholders' Conference, Vladimir Shcherbakov, USSR deputy prime minister, said that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has decided to lift the limit on savings withdrawals of 500 rubles per month from private individuals' USSR Savings Bank deposits which was introduced 22 January 1991 by resolution of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. According to Shcherbakov, in the near future the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Commission] is to send a cable to Savings Bank branches with regard to lifting the limit, POSTFACTUM reports.

Lithuanians Express Support for Striking Miners

LD0903213391 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 9 Mar 91

[By correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius March 9 TASS— Residents of Lithuania have gathered dozens of tonnes of foodstuffs to be sent to the striking workers and their families in the regions of Donbass and Kuzbass, as well as Vorkuta.

This action has been organised by the Lithuanian Workers' Union.

The scope of the response both of individuals and industrial enterprises all over the republic went far beyond the expectations of the organisers. Instead of one truckload of food, dozens of truckloads of cereals, sugar, canned food and other foodstuffs will soon be sent to the coal mining regions.

Confused Strike Picture in Kuzbass Reported

PM0803153591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[Stanislav Vtorushin report: "Losing Interest in Rallies"]

[Text] Kemerovo—People throughout the Kuzbass were awaiting yesterday on tenterhooks. The general strike of Kuzbass miners, which its organisers were expecting, did not take place 4 March. All open-cut mines and the overwhelming majority of underground mines failed to respond to the strike call. The planned rallies in support of strike committees fell through.

In Kemerovo such a rally, scheduled for midday in the city center, did not take place at all, while in Prokopyevsk around 3,000 people turned up to a rally. This indicates that people have lost interest in soapbox democracy and lost faith that the most acute socioeconomic problems are susceptible of solution by ultimatums.

Nevertheless, the collectives of a number of mines did not report for work. That is why everyone was waiting to see what the miners would say on 5 March. After all, a 24-hour strike had been declared. In the morning it became clear that "Abashevskaya" Mine, which had not supported the idea of a strike and had worked two full shifts 4 March, worked the third shift only partially, while the fourth shift was completely idle, as the miners put it. Nor did the mine resume work 5 March. It was supported by the collectives of other Novokuznetsk mines—"Yesaulskaya" and "Polosukhinskaya." At the Dimitrov Mine, which did not operate the first day of the strike, miners went down to the coal face but did not start work.

The Novokuznetsk workers' strike committee sat throughout yesterday in the city. It had to discuss whether it was advisable to continue the strike or whether it should be stopped. Committee members were unable to come to a single opinion, and the Novokuznetsk miners' strike therefore continued. On 6 March the strike was joined by the "Sibirskaya" Mine from the city of Anzhero-Sudensk. Miners are making political demands—the resignation of the president and the central government and the dissolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Central Council of Coal Industry Workers' Unions has adopted an extremely destructive stance in today's already heated sociopolitical atmosphere. Its chairman, V. Lunev, has sent miners a telegram in which he has directly called for a strike. As I have not managed to see the telegram, I quote the text as published in the KUZBASS newspaper. It reads as follows:

"We ask for support for our demand that wages be at least doubled. Organize rallies and meetings on 1 March and demand at them that the government increase wages appropriately, given the demanding nature of the work and the existing level of pay in your sector. The objective of this action is to warn the government and show it our organization and resolve to fight for our rights." It goes on to say: "We have not yet lost hope that the government will enter into dialogue with us. If, however, this does not happen, we will have no option but to strike. And in the latter half of March we will declare a unionwide warning strike."

Many miners regarded this telegram as a provocation. In their opinion, it was aimed not at defending miners' interests but at bolstering the trade union leaders' personal ambitions. After all, the miners have set up their own organization—an independent trade union of miners—which the coal industry workers' trade union has seen as a serious competitor. In an attempt to score as many points as possible in the struggle against its rival the old trade union decided to "defend" working people's rights this way. The political and social consequences of such action are clearly of no interest to its leaders.

On Wednesday, 6 March, four coal-mining enterprises in the Kuznetsk coal basin were idle. And the miners of the "Yesaulskaya" Mine decided to strike until 10 March.

The miners are making political demands. But I will take the liberty of expressing my own viewpoint. These demands have grown out of extreme disappointment with the way economic problems are tackled in the region. It is those problems which form the basis of all the instability of the situation in the Kuzbass. Until the acuteness of the economic situation of working people in this mining region is removed the possibility of strikes and other protest acts will persist.

Kravchuk Appeal to Ukraine Miners Cited

PM0403095991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 91 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondents M. Odinets and M. Tikhomirov: "Time To Strike?"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Feb—Before moving on at this morning's sitting to the items on the agenda of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session, its chairman, L. Kravchuk, made an appeal to miners. The deviation from the standing orders was due to exceptional circumstances that have occurred of late in the republic's coal-mining areas. The regional union of Donbass strike committees, which discussed the possibility of strike action, did not make a specific decision. The final word was left to the miners' collectives.

Kravchuk urged the miners first to weigh up all the pros and cons, to consider the situation, and not be misled. The appeal caused a heated debate. But the majority agreed that this is not the time for strikes. Speakers referred to the previous day's television appearance by V. Fokin, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. The miners' living conditions are hard, their social protection leaves much to be desired, there are grounds for dissatisfaction with the course of the implementation of resolutions adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers, but the logical question arose: Why talk about strikes at this very moment?

After all, at the end of January a protocol was signed between the republic Council of Ministers and the Donbass regional union of strike committees which set out the government's pledges. It confirmed continuity in matters of the monitoring and implementation of USSR Council of Ministers resolutions 608, 717, and 47. The prices of coal products have increased by a factor of 2.4 compared with 1990. A subsidy of 12 billion rubles [R] has been provided. Capital ivestments of nearly R1 billion have been allocated out of the budget for the social development of mining settlements. The state order for coking coal was set at the level of 95 percent and for fuel coal at 90 percent. An agreement was reached on pension matters.

But the regional union of strike committees failed to adopt a single counterpledge. Yet only last year production declined by 15 million tonnes and wages increased by 18 percent. The new wholesale prices for coal enable any underground worker employed in extraction to earn R1,000 plus per month. However, coal extraction continues to fall.

The Supreme Soviet approved Kravchuk's appeal to the miners and moved on to discuss a draft law on the status of citizens affected by the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident.

Leaseholders' Conference Meets in Moscow 4-5 March

PM0703100691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[A. Georgiyev report: "Small Business Deep in Thought..."]

[Text] The green grass had broken through the asphalt crust outside the CEMA building. "It's rather early, isn't it?"—I thought, as I opened the heavy door of the hall where about 1,000 envoys from leaseholders and entrepreneurs assembled for a conference for the first time yesterday. In all, there are 11 million of them in our country today. And those assembled spoke about their first steps like early grass, with doubts and hopes.

A report was delivered at the conference by P. Bunich, president of the USSR Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs. A supplementary report was delivered by V. Vologzhin, president of the Federation for Development and Support of Small Business.

V. Shcherbakov, deputy USSR prime minister, V. Rayevskiy, first deputy USSR minister of finance, and others spoke, answering questions about the state's attitude toward the development of small business and entrepreneurship and the complexities and difficulties along this unfamiliar path.

The conference ends today.

Commission Report on Ruble Deal Published

91UF0540A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Discussion in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet: An Echo Worth Billions in the Russian House" subtitled: "Memorandum of a Commission of Deputies Dated 15 February 1991"]

[Text] Pursuant to the Resolution of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet No 517/I-1 dated 24 January 1991, a commission of deputies for investigating the circumstances of a transaction between the Dove Trading International company and the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association has studied the circumstances of the aforementioned transaction.

The commission has held 11 meetings, gathered the necessary materials, obtained the testimony of individuals associated with the signing of this contract, and solicited the opinion of experts.

The commission of deputies has sought to establish:

1. The circumstances under which the contract between Dove Trading International and the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association was signed.

2. The role of Comrade G.I. Filshin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and the RSFSR Government on the whole in the signing of the contract in question.

3. The involvement of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and individual RSFSR people's deputies in this transaction.

4. The economic and political consequences of the transaction.

Chronology of Events

The copy of a letter signed by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies (No 01-50 dated 13 November 1990) to Comrade G.I. Filshin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is found in the materials of the commission. The letter indicates that **"proposals by the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association concerning importing sophisticated household appliances, video equipment, and consumer goods for sale to the populace, with the participation of the association and the company Baltijas Kronis, are of certain interest to the oblast."**

A statement by RSFSR People's Deputy Comrade V.I. Ikonnikov suggests that he familiarized Comrade G.I. Filshin with this letter in December 1990 at the request of A.A. Sviridov. As comrade V.I. Ikonnikov said, he did not take part in the subsequent discussion of this transaction.

On 11 December 1990 a letter to the RSFSR prime minister from C. Gibbins arrived with a proposal to purchase 140 billion rubles [R] for U.S. dollars. On 20 December, Comrade G.I. Filshin referred this letter to Comrade D.I. Novikov with the Russian House company and to Comrade V.N. Yaroshenko at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

On 11 January 1991 a conference was held by Comrade G.I. Filshin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, with Comrades Khlystov, Kozlov, Shalashov, Sviridov, and Moiseyev in attendance. The issue of concluding the transaction between the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association and Dove Trading International and the commercial aspect of this transaction were discussed at the conference. Under consideration was a proposal to carry out a mutual credit transfer between the Dove Trading International company and the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association, which was made by C. Gibbins and Sviridov to the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and supported by the Executive Committees of the Chelyabinsk and Kurgan Soviets, as well as a list of goods worth R26 billion which Dove Trading International offered to deliver to the RSFSR market in 1991, within the framework of a contract with the interindustry association Rebirth of the Urals Countryside.

Based on this discussion and pertinent documents that are on file, G.I. Filshin signed on behalf of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and sent to the president of Dove Trading International a letter, No 26 dated 11 January 1991, in which the RSFSR Council of Ministers stated (verbatim) that it would "provide assistance and support the implementation of a contract between the Dove Trading International company and the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association by means of a credit transfer with the subsequent reinvestment of Soviet rubles obtained by foreign companies in various sectors of the RSFSR national economy, with a view to providing necessities for the populace."

The letter is written under the letterhead of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. It also includes an English text, which contains an egregious distortion of the Russian text of the letter.

The letter was processed in violation of the rules. In particular, the letterhead of the RSFSR Council of Ministers was certified by the seal of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and a seal was affixed to a document meant to be taken out of the USSR.

Acting on this decision, G.I. Filshin gave the following instruction: "1. Endorse.

"2. I request that Comrade A.N. Shalashov open a ruble account.

"3. I request that Comrade V.M. Telegin cooperate."

On 13 January 1991 a contract was signed between Dove Trading International and the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company affiliated with the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory to Soldiers, which had not even been registered.

The actions of G.I. Filshin amounted not just to endorsing the concept of the transaction, as he reported to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, but to specific assistance in processing this contract and providing conditions for the implementation of this contract.

Moreover, G.I. Filshin has not changed his point of view and has continued to assist the transaction in question even after documents pertaining to it were intercepted by customs at Sheremetyevo-2 in mid-January.

In addition, the commission determined that in December 1990 the RSFSR Council of Ministers prepared a general agreement on cooperation between "the RSFSR Government" and "U.S. Financial Group, LTD, G.m.b.H." "New Republic" on joint investment operations envisaging the opening of a credit line in the amount of R300 billion and U.S. $50 billion on the part of New Republic.

The Essence of the Transaction

The transaction represents a purchase of R140 billion by the foreign clients of the company Dove Trading International. The purchasing company was not determined and identified to the Soviet side in the course of the negotiations, contract signing, and securing of assistance and support from the RSFSR Council of Ministers. No confirmation of the status and financial position of the purchasing company was provided. The Soviet side made decisions in the absence of information as to the actual purchaser of rubles.

Some of the documents on file refer to cash: R140 billion and difficulties (verbatim) "with transporting this volume of cash."

It was suggested that foreign partners open a ruble account for R140 billion at a Soviet bank in order not to run into difficulties in transporting the money in the process of depositing it "at any Swiss bank." As Chairman of the Board of the Moscow Interregional Commercial Bank Shalashov, who opened a ruble deposit account for the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association in violation of the State Bank instructions in effect in the USSR and the RSFSR, explained, it was planned to accumulate in this account funds intended to be subsequently transferred to a ruble account of the foreign company in an amount corresponding to the purchases of goods by the foreign company for U.S. dollars at the agreed-upon rate of U.S. $1 = R18.05. The ruble funds accumulated in the account of the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association were to be transferred to Dove Trading International to be used, with the right to immediately reinvest them in the economy of the republic.

Coordinated actions on the part the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of Union republics are necessary given the large scale of the transaction in the environment of a unified system of monetary circulation in the USSR. In this case, a contract to sell R140 billion, which is comparable with the amount of cash in circulation in the USSR and the amount of spare balances of funds in the accounts of enterprises, affected the interests of all the republics and the USSR as a whole. Its possible implementation would have endangered the stability of relations with the Union republics, destabilized the process of monetary circulation in the country, and generated new uncontrolled financial flows. A crisis of confidence in the Governments of the RSFSR and the USSR as a whole would have been exacerbated. Concentration of this amount of rubles in the hands of an undetermined company could have made serious financial subversion of both individual republics and the USSR possible.

This contract, even though it was not implemented, inflicted substantial political damage on the authority of the RSFSR Government and the Supreme Soviet. The government developed the reputation of a partner given to shady ventures. The process of signing economic agreements and resolving budgetary and financial issues was hampered.

The confidence of the largest Western banks and companies in the RSFSR Government was undermined. Companies with favorable reputations may approach the Russian establishments and the government with mistrust. Complications in securing credits from Western partners are possible.

Giving foreign companies and citizens the right to open ruble accounts definitely calls for developing clear-cut procedures for the use of these accounts (especially taking into account the structural and quantitative disparities between prices in the USSR and the world market). Massive purchases of raw materials, secondary resources, and fixed assets—the entire public wealth—are possible otherwise. Under these circumstances, a policy of privatization pursued in our country would result in a loss of economic sovereignty by the republic.

Partners from the Soviet Side

The inter-industry association Rebirth of the Urals Countryside (henceforth the Association) in Chelyabinsk Oblast was registered through legally established procedures by a decision of the Executive Committee of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. Comrade A.A. Sviridov was confirmed as president of the association.

The following points in materials available to the commission are noteworthy:

a) in a letter to Comrade G.I. Filshin, the chairman of the Chelyabinsk Executive Committee stated a certain interest in the proposals of the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association with the participation of the company Baltijas Kronis, but without mentioning the company Dove Trading International, whereas a letter signed by Comrade G.I. Filshin guarantees support and assistance for the contract between the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association and the company Dove Trading International;

b) the contract for R140 billion was signed by the Dove Trading International company and the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company, which is not in line with the text of the letter signed by Comrade G.I. Filshin;

c) the contract and annexes to the contract were signed for the Soviet side on behalf of the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company, but are certified with the seal of the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association, and signed by A.A. Sviridov in his capacity as general director of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company and president of the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association simultaneously.

On ! November 1990, Comrade A.A. Sviridov filed a petition to open a current account with the Road Builder commercial bank in the city of Chelyabinsk in his capacity as director of the Urals Branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company, submitting the Statute of the Urals Branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company set up by a decision of the council of the Ekho Production and Commercial Company of the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory of Soldiers (city of Moscow), certified with the seal and the signature of Comrade Yu.V. Krishtalev, director of the Ekho Production and Commercial Company of the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory of Soldiers.

Based on the documents filed, the Road Builder commercial bank opened current account No 345286 on 1 November 1990 on the condition of mandatory registration of the Ekho company at the rayon executive committee at the seat of the organization before 1 January 1991.

In the second half of November, charter documents of the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho Production and Commercial Company of the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory of Soldiers were submitted to the Executive Committee of the Kalininskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies of the city of Chelyabinsk. The branch was being set up by a decision of the parent company located in the city of Moscow. Chairmen of the branch, including its director A.A. Sviridov could not provide the necessary explanations regarding the charter documents of their organization. The submitted charter and the decision to register the parent company clearly contradicted each other.

In view of this, the Executive Committee did not register the Chelyabinsk Branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company and returned the documents to its representatives believing that the charter documents were not prepared properly, having failed to receive answers to substantive questions asked about the charter documents and the documents of the parent company.

A memo on the availability and movement of funds in the current account No 345286 of the Ekho company provided by the Road Builder commercial bank in Chelyabinsk indicates that:

On 10 December 1990 the Ekho company transferred R100,000 to account No 700310 of the Independent Justice Union at the Chelyabinsk Oblast Cooperative Bank Rotor-Bank.

On 20 December 1990 the Ekho company transferred R10,000 to account No 700349 at the Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development of the city of Chelyabinsk as a donation to the Democratic Party of Russia.

On 3 January 1991 operations on the current account of the Ekho company at the Road Builder commercial bank in Chelyabinsk were discontinued in conjunction with the failure of the Ekho company to be registered by the rayon executive committee, of which Comrade A.A. Sviridov was informed.

Materials available to the commission suggest that the Charter of the Urals Branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company signed by the director of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company of the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory of Soldiers was certified with the seal of the Mossprint Production and Commercial Company of the same fund Eternal Memory to Soldiers. However, a memo submitted by the president of the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory to Soldiers suggests that:

a) the international fund did not set up the Ekho Ecological Company and its branch in the city of Chelyabinsk;

b) the Mossprint Production and Commercial Company did intend to become a member of the fund. However, it did not complete the processing of documents, and therefore was not set up. The company did not register with the Executive Committee of Timiryazevskiy Rayon of the city of Moscow.

Documents provided by Comrade A.Kh. Akhmaletdinov, director of the Mossprint Production and Commercial Company, suggest that:

a) the Mossprint Production and Commercial Company has a charter adopted by the international nongovernmental fund Eternal Memory of Soldiers;

b) as of the time the charter was furnished to the commission of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (12 February 1991) the Mossprint company was not registered;

c) the Mossprint Production and Commercial Company adopted the charter of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company in the city of Moscow prior to the registration of Mossprint by the Timiryazevskiy Rayon Executive Committee of the city of Moscow;

d) the charter of the Urals branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company was not adopted, and the seal was not affixed.

In addition, the Timiryazevskiy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs provided information to the effect that no permit to manufacture a seal was issued to the Mossprint company.

The above suggests that the current account opened by A.A. Sviridov at the Road Builder commercial bank for the Urals branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company was opened on the basis of a charter adopted by the unregistered company Ekho (city of Moscow) with the affixed seal of the likewise unregistered company Mossprint which is not, and is not listed as being, the founder of the Urals branch of the Ekho Production and Commercial Company.

Therefore, the contract signed by the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company on 13 January 1991, as represented by its Director A.A. Sviridov, with the Dove Trading International company is not legally binding because, as of the moment the contract was signed, the Ekho company did not have the status of a corporate person established through procedures provided by law, and A.A. Sviridov had no legal right to represent the interests of the Ekho company and sign a contract on its behalf. Consequently, this transaction is a fraud as far as Soviet participants in it are concerned.

Taking into account the fact that the USSR Procuracy has opened a criminal case involving this transaction, the commission considers it necessary to refer the materials available to the Procuracy, in order to add them to the case files and continue the investigation of the operations of the Urals branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company and the Dove Trading International company, as represented by its Director A.A. Sviridov, through procedures established by law.

Partners From the Foreign Side

Dove Trading International S.S. is a private joint-stock company registered in Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa, on 23 February 1990, registration number SX 90/06342/23, legal address Rasvin Place, 725 Sondles Ra [as published], Highlands North, 2192; postal address Box 64096, Highlands North, 203. Colin Clive Gibbins and David Carlwood Fry are members of the company. The share of each partner in the company is 50 percent, which corresponds to 100,000 South African rand accordingly. Trade in goods and services of all types is the company's main line of business. Its annual turnover is about 1.5 million rand. Dove Trading International is a small brokerage company.

From July 1984 on, C. Gibbins visited the USSR regularly for commercial operations. A nationwide search is on for Colin Gibbins in England on account of customs and tax violations of the law exceeding 380,000 pound sterling. Paul Pearson and David Fry, co-owners of the company, are known to the authorities of Great Britain as Gibbins' accomplices. The South African company they represent has been used as a cover to camouflage the fraudulent operations of the above three persons.

As C. Gibbins himself said, in 1990 he conducted negotiations together with several partners regarding an opportunity to conclude a transaction involving the acquisition of a large sum in Soviet rubles for hard currency.

Negotiations on consummating the transaction continued in Zurich after Pearson was apprehended at the customs checkpoint in Sheremetyevo-2 and the deputies commission was created by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to investigate the circumstances of the transaction between Dove Trading International and the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho company. A decision was made to change the text of the contract and remove the company Dove Trading International. It was resolved that another private South African corporation, Industrial and Consumer Commodity Brokers S.S., would assume the functions of Dove Trading International. David C. Fry, who is a companion of C. Gibbins and co-owner of Dove Trading International, sent a letter to the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet on behalf of Industrial and Consumer Commodity Brokers S.S. The letterhead of Industrial and Consumer Commodity Brokers S.S. indicates the same particulars and the same postal address as the letterhead of Dove Trading International.

Documents of Dove Trading International contain references to backing for the transaction on the part of Barclays Bank International. The Moscow representative of Barclays Bank testified that there is no bank with this name in the Barclays bank group system in Switzerland.

According to the documents submitted, the interests of the purchaser should have been represented by the Golden Eagle Trust company, address: Switzerland, Geneva 20. This brokerage company, as well as other companies mentioned in the document, are very dubious. The availability and origin of the dollars have not been ascertained.

Proceeding from the above, the commission believes it necessary to note the following:

1. In a most severe economic crisis, the government of the RSFSR, instead of engaging in everyday painstaking work to tap the internal resources of the republic and stabilize the economy, concentrated its efforts for the most part on attempts to carry out massive purchases abroad of foodstuffs and goods for rubles, issuing protection guarantees for the subsequent investment of the proceeds generated by foreign companies in industrial and commercial instruments on the territory of the RSFSR without brokers.

2. Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers G.I. Filshin exceeded his authority by signing a letter on behalf of the RSFSR Council of Ministers in support of the contract between the Dove Trading International company and the Chelyabinsk Oblast association Rebirth of the Urals Countryside. Having provided assistance to a company that did not have the rights of a corporate person on the Soviet side, and a company of dubious reputation on the Republic of South Africa side, G.I. Filshin displayed incompetence and negligence.

The commission also notes the insincerity of Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers G.I. Filshin and the fact that he deliberately misled the deputies commission in the course of the examination of this case.

In view of the above, the issue of the resignation of Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers G.I. Filshin should be considered by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

3. Other members of the government also took part in preparing the contract between the companies Dove Trading International and the Chelyabinsk branch of the Ekho Production and Ecological Company:

a) the RSFSR Ministry of Trade represented by RSFSR Minister of Trade Khlystov and Deputy Minister Kozlov displayed an irresponsible attitude toward selecting trade partners;

b) having received from G.I. Filshin the letter written by C. Gibbins on 20 December 1990 in which the sale of R140 billion was proposed, the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (Minister V.N. Yaroshenko) did not show appropriate interest in the letter in question, and did not duly evaluate this transaction.

4. Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers I.S. Silayev actually furthered the implementation of the economic concept of mutual credits extended by Soviet and Western partners. In particular, the following testifies to this.

A letter by I.S. Silayev addressed to B.N. Yeltsin is available with a request (verbatim) "to consent to granting him the powers necessary to conclude pertinent agreements."

As stated by G.I. Filshin, this document was referred to Comrade G.E. Burbuli, plenipotentiary representative of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman, for the Supreme Soviet to be familiarized with it. As Filshin stated, there was no response.

5. On 21 January 1991, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet said at a meeting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (verbatim): "We should agree to restricted and regulated sales of rubles to foreign investors with a view to ensuring the foreign exchange independence of Russia and stabilization of the consumer market" (see bulletin No. 1 dated 21 January 1991, page 15).

6. RSFSR People's Deputy V.I. Ikonnikov participated actively in working out arrangements for attracting foreign investment by means of credit transfers; according to a statement by Sviridov, V.I. Ikonnikov acted as consultant in developing similar contracts after September 1990. The commission notes that V.I. Ikonnikov misled the deputies commission.

7. A protocol of intent dated 19 December 1990 is on file which approves of the idea of selling R140 billion and arrangements for accomplishing it, signed by C. Gibbins and N. Tregub on behalf of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. There is no such deputy among the leadership of the Supreme Soviet or the RSFSR people's deputies.

8. The Moscow Interregional Commercial Bank (Shalashov) had no right to conduct foreign economic operations and tap funds in excess of R6 billion. The chairman of the board of the bank clearly allowed forgery in document handling to occur. There is no credible information on the availability of any significant monetary funds to the Soviet participants in the transaction.

9. The Administration of Affairs of the RSFSR Council of Ministers did not ensure proper procedures for document processing and procedures for writing resolutions on them. The commission points out to the RSFSR Council of Ministers (Comrade I.S. Silayev) instances of removing the originals of RSFSR Council of Ministers documents on this case.

[Signed] Chairman of the commission A.K. Pochinok, N.T.O [National Territorial District] 81
Members of the commission: Yu.M. Voronin, T.O. [Territorial District] 862
V.A. Vyucheyskiy, N.T.O. 162
A.I. Gurov, T.O. 33
V.I. Zhigulin, T.O. 505
Ye.M. Kozhokin, T.O. 21
V.A. Serdyukov, T.O. 127
I.N. Smirnov, T.O. 133

I agree with the description of the above facts, but believe that not all the circumstances of preparing and concluding the transaction have been depicted. I consider it necessary to carry on the work of the commission and to adopt a final document on the work of the commission only after the receipt of complete information.
[Signed] Ye.M. Kozhokin

Supplementary Materials of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Commission for Investigating the Circumstances of the Transaction Between the Dove Trading International Company and the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association (attached to the memorandum dated 15 February 1991)

In keeping with the instructions of the Supreme Soviet on providing additional materials and analyses associated with the case in question, the commission has established additional facts regarding the foreign economic operations of the RSFSR Government.

1. A letter by I.S. Silayev addressed to B.N. Yeltsin on an agreement with the company New Republic/USA Financial Group, G.I.S.m.b.h. was noted. It was expected that the foreign partner would provide in 1991 financial resources amounting to U.S. $50 billion (including U.S. $5 billion immediately). With a view to speeding up the turnover of funds, the foreign partner requested that a credit line of R300 billion be provided over five years (including R140 billion immediately—in this instance, a different R140 billion, not associated with the contract of Dove Trading International, are at issue)—to invest in the economy of the RSFSR and purchase raw and other materials. In a letter to B.N. Yeltsin, I.S. Silayev considered it possible to provide the credit indicated from the funds of the RSFSR state budget, which is unrealistic from an economic point of view.

A general agreement on cooperation and a protocol on financial and commercial regulation signed by the U.S. side only were enclosed with I.S. Silayev's letter. With a view to implementing the agreement, these documents envisaged the creation of the joint company Rus in the territory of the RSFSR in which 50 percent of the original capital would belong to the foreign side, and 50 percent to the Soviet side, including 25 percent to the Russian state as represented by its government organs.

A review of this agreement indicated that I.S. Silayev signed the letter without verifying the honesty of the partner.

Subsequently, it came out that a representative of the company New Republic/USA Financial Group G.I.S.m.b.h., U.S. citizen Leo Emil Vanta, has considerable debts and has recently met his payment obligations in an unsatisfactory manner.

As Comrade I.S. Silayev stated at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 15 February 1991, these documents were supposedly recalled in three days (in the first half of December 1990), and Comrades G.I. Filshin and V.N. Yaroshenko were instructed to discontinue all mutual relations with this foreign partner as being suspect and, perhaps, being a con artist. No documentary evidence of a recall of these documents has been provided in response to a request by the commission.

However, as stated by Comrade G.I. Filshin, work on this agreement continued on 25 January 1991. Subsequently, G.I. Filshin submitted to the commission a fax message dated 30 January 1991 and signed by Leo Emil Vanta which contained expressions of gratitude for an invitation to work on the document further and a description of difficulties in securing a visa.

2. A protocol of intent to carry out a joint project with a total sum of investment of up to U.S. $50 billion has been uncovered. The protocol was signed on 31 August 1990 for the American side by John Ross, president of the company New Technology and Production International Incorporated, and for the Soviet side by I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and V.I. Ryashentsev, president of the industrial and commerce company The Russian House. In this case as well no auditing review was done.

According to the data of the USSR Procuracy, the aforementioned U.S. subject John Ross resided in the USSR until 1976. He was born in the city of Kiev in 1927, and worked at different times in construction organizations of Kiev, Lvov, and Crimea Oblast. In the USSR the first name, patronymic, and last name of John Ross were Yan Semenovich Zubok.

In 1955 the Leninskiy Rayon People's Court of the City of Kiev sentenced Y.S. Zubok to eight years imprisonment under Article 127- 20 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code for speculation, and in 1963 he was sentenced by the Sevastopolskiy Rayon People's Court of the City of Kiev under article 84, Part 2 for large-scale theft. In 1974-1975, Y.S. Zubok worked at the Mosryba Refrigerated Storage Facility and was involved in the case of the Ocean Company.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers failed to respond to a commission request to provide this protocol by the time the memorandum was drawn up.

3. The draft resolution of the Second (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies devoted to economic stabilization and a transition to market relations in the RSFSR, endorsed by I.S. Silayev, reads as follows:

"To acknowledge that the effective use of the export potential of Russia is the foundation for stabilizing the economy of the RSFSR."

A memorandum on current measures planned by the RSFSR Government for the immediate future enclosed with this draft and likewise signed by I.S. Silayev reads:

"—to urgently implement agreements between the RSFSR Government and a number of foreign companies for purchasing foodstuffs and goods with rubles and for signing new contracts, including the issuance of protection guarantees for the subsequent investment of the proceeds by foreign companies in industrial and commercial facilities on RSFSR territory;

"—to allow the foreign companies to sell goods and services for rubles on RSFSR territory without middlemen and subsequently to invest the proceeds in building their own enterprises;

"—to allow the foreign businessmen to purchase raw and other materials, secondary raw materials, products from precious materials, furs, and so on, from a strictly limited list, with Soviet currency under licenses issued by state organs, and to export them abroad duty-free."

4. Information found in the initial memorandum and in the supplementary materials indicates objectively that a number of large-scale transactions with foreign partners

were prepared by the RSFSR Government without the necessary economic and legal analyses and a review of the foreign and Soviet partners.

The operation of ministries and establishments responsible for foreign economic activities was not coordinated. The above materials submitted to the commission were not endorsed by the ministers of foreign economic relations, finance, justice, and corresponding services of the apparatus of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

On the other hand, according to the data of the USSR Procuracy, President of the Rebirth of the Urals Countryside Association A.A. Sviridov signed a contract with the citizen of India Samuel Gupta representing the Lamar Company (United States). There are grounds to surmise that there are business contacts between Colin Gibbins and John Ross. In other words, close mutual contacts among the foreign partners in the course of preparing all of the above contract developments are apparent.

5. A foreign exchange commission has been created by the RSFSR Council of Ministers during the operation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission for the investigation by deputies; the RSFSR Ministry of Finance has embarked on a comprehensive audit of the records of all enterprises and organizations concerning foreign economic activities. The Administration of Affairs of the RSFSR Council of Ministers is taking measures to put in order document handling in the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

27 February 1991
[Signed] A. Pochinok
Yu. Voronin
V.A. Vyucheyskiy
A.I. Gurov
V.I. Zhigulin
Ye.M. Kozhokin
V.A. Serdyukov
I.N. Smirnov

RSFSR 1990 Economic Performance Figures

914A0415A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 6, Feb 91 pp 25-27

[Report by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics: "The Russian Federation in 1990"]

[Text] Statistical data based on last year's results show a complex situation in the RSFSR national economy. The intensifying disorder in the consumer market is manifested most acutely. The money income of the republic's population increased by 16.5 percent (in nine months there was an increase of 14 percent), while the produced national income decreased by five percent. The volume of unmet demand approached 129 billion rubles. At the same time, the output of food products, as compared with 1989, increased by only 1.4 percent and the output of meat, cheese, vegetable oil, sugar, and many other products even declined. Their mobilization through imports, as well as from reserves, does not weaken the universally growing demand. Moreover, it assumes speculative forms and people try to buy products as a reserve, whose volume among families has greatly increased recently. The food market, which has become empty, represents the greatest difficulties and acuteness in the advance of the entire national economy toward a market economy.

Under the intensifying inflation enterprises in the ties among themselves increasingly lean on a direct exchange of products, often breaking the state discipline of deliveries. Construction has become most sensitive to this. Owing to difficulties with material supply and for other reasons, the total volume of construction work declined by 12 percent as compared with 1989. The state order for the commissioning of production projects was fulfilled only 35 percent. Incomplete construction rose sharply. The commissioning of housing was lowered by 14 percent as compared with 1989.

The impression from the empty counters in stores overshadows the positive elements, which exist. In particular, in the structure of industrial output, with its general decline, there has been some growth in the production of consumer goods, especially in groups of complex household equipment items. Production relations are being altered. Various forms of leasing are becoming ever more widespread, peasant farms are arising everywhere, the process of privatization of property is developing, and many joint enterprises are operating ever more confidently and efficiently, attracting foreign capital to the national economy.

Basic socioeconomic indicators in the RSFSR are characterized by the following data (in actual prices; billion rubles):

	1990	
	actually	in percent of 1989 (in comparable prices)
Gross national product	593	98
Produced national income	425	95
Industrial output	505	99.4
Consumer goods production, in retail prices	250	107.2

	1990	
	actually	in percent of 1989 (in comparable prices)
including:		
foodstuffs	76	101.4
alcoholic beverages	33	110
nonfoodstuffs	141	110
including light industry goods	51	101.8
Agricultural output (in comparable prices)	102	96
Commissioning of fixed capital with state centralized capital investments and resources of funds of enterprises and organizations (according to the estimated value)	107.6	96
State capital investments (according to the estimated value)	119.3	96
centralized	53.1	86
resources of enterprise funds	66.2	106
Freight hauls (dispatch) by public transport, billion tons	6.3	96
Passenger traffic by public transport, billion passenger-kilometers	699.3	102
Profit throughout the national economy	151.6	99.0
Total number of people employed in the national economy, million	74.5	99.1
Wage fund of workers and employees	217.4	107
Wage fund of cooperative workers	16.2	158
Wage fund of kolkhoz members	11.6	108
Payments and benefits for the population from public consumption funds	121.0	108.1*
Retail commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade	265	110
Paid services	41	106 *
Commissioning of dwelling houses from all financing sources, million square meters of total area	60.5	86

*In actual prices

In the value structure of the national income the share of the surplus product, with which public needs are met and production expansion is carried out, declined and the proportion of wages (the necessary product) increased substantially. National labor productivity comprised 96 percent in relation to the 1989 level. A total of 84 percent of the national income was assigned for social needs, as compared with 81 percent in 1989.

In 1990 USSR exports totaled 36.6 billion currency rubles, declining by 8.5 percent as compared with 1989. The import volume decreased by 1 billion currency rubles, or two percent, totaling 41 billion rubles. The RSFSR foreign commodity turnover declined by five percent.

The export of products through direct ties of enterprises with foreign partners amounted to about 600 million rubles, or 1.6 percent of its total volume. Domestic products worth 50 million rubles were exported through coastal and proximal border trade.

The process of establishment of new economic structures and formations continued. The development of the multistructural nature of Russia's economy is characterized by the following data:

	Number of employed people, million		Volume of output, billion rubles		Fixed productive capital, billion rubles	
	1985	1990	1985	1990	1985	1990
Total (material production)	54.2	52.9	825.0	969.4	974.4	1287.1
State sector	47.6	44.3	744.3	823.3	884.2	1173.6
Cooperative sector	5.9	7.5	54.3	109.9	83.2	103.2
including:						
kolkhozes	4.4	3.9	44.9	58.6	74.2	87.5
consumer cooperatives	1.5	1.6	9.4	13.8	9.0	12.0

	Number of employed people, million		Volume of output, billion rubles		Fixed productive capital, billion rubles	
	1985	1990	1985	1990	1985	1990
cooperatives for the production of goods and services	-	2.0	-	37.5	-	3.7
Individual sector	0.7	1.1	26.4	36.2	7.0	10.3
including:						
peasant farms	-	0.009	-	0.01	-	0.1
private subsidiary farms	0.7	1.0	26.4	35.4	7.0	10.2
individual labor activity	0.0	0.1	-	0.8	-	-

As of 1 November 1990 a total of 73 concerns, 66 consortiums, 252 joint-stock companies, 842 associations, and more than 15,000 small enterprises were registered in the republic. Commodity and commodity-raw material exchanges, commercial banks, and insurance companies were established and began to function. The privatization of property began in industry, retail trade, and public dining.

In 1990 a total of 1,600 industrial enterprises, 722 retail trade enterprises, 609 public dining enterprises, 247 domestic service enterprises, and 304 public motor transport enterprises operated on the basis of leasing. The Baltic Sea Shipping Company changed over to leasing.

A total of 4,400 peasant (individual) farms were registered, to which more than 200,000 hectares of land were granted.

About 130,000 cooperatives operated. They sold products and services worth about 40 billion rubles (in 1989, worth 25 billion), including directly to the public, worth 4 billion (3.4 billion rubles).

In RSFSR territory about 2,000 joint enterprises were registered and 621 embarked on practical activity. In 1990 they produced products and provided services worth 2.3 billion rubles, exported goods worth 145 million rubles, and imported goods worth 995 million rubles.

Population and Labor Resources

By the end of 1990 Russia's population totaled 148.5 million. Last year it increased by 0.5 million, or by 0.3 percent, as compared with 0.7 and 0.4 percent respectively in 1989. During the year the number of births declined by more than 160,000 and of deaths increased by almost 100,000. Total birth and mortality coefficients were 13.4 and 11.3 per 1,000 people respectively for the year. Natural growth declined from 3.9 per 1,000 people in 1989 to 2.1 in 1990 and was the lowest during all the postwar years. The increase in the emigration of the Federation's residents out of the country also had an effect on the decline in the rates of population growth.

Labor resources in the Russian Federation amounted to 87 million people, or about 60 percent of the total population. A total of 74.5 million people were employed in all spheres of activity, including 65.3 million in the state sector, 8.1 million in the cooperative sector (including kolkhozes and consumer and other cooperatives), and 1.1 million, in the individual sector.

As compared with 1989, the number of workers at state enterprises and organizations decreased by more than two percent, which was brought about by their conversion into cooperatives, as well as by the decline in the level of women's employment in connection with the increase in the length of child care leaves. The number of people working in cooperatives (without persons holding several jobs) increased 1.4-fold, totaling 2.4 million.

The able-bodied population not employed in the national economy and not studying exceeded 4 million, of whom the temporarily nonworking population, which can be classified with the unemployed, is estimated at approximately 0.6 million.

In the presence of free labor resources in the republic, according to reports by enterprises, institutions, and organizations, the number of empty work places and vacant posts totaled more than 1 million.

In industry and construction work time losses exceeded the 1989 level 1.3-fold. Strikes and mass absences from work lasting one day and longer were noted at 260 enterprises, institutions, and organizations in 32 RSFSR territories.

Finances and Money Circulation

The republic's financial situation remains complex. In 1990 the profit received by the republic's enterprises and organizations decreased by one percent, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, totaling 151.6 billion rubles.

In RSFSR territory the payments transferred from the profit to the state budget totaled 76 billion rubles, which was 2 billion rubles less than in 1989. A total of 73 billion rubles of the turnover tax were received, which was 5 billion rubles, or eight percent, more. According to the results of financial and economic activity, about seven percent of the industrial and contract construction and installation organizations had losses.

As of 1 January 1991 credit investments in the republic's national economy totaled 178 billion rubles.

The population's money income totaled 378.2 billion rubles, increasing by 16.5 percent. The wage fund in the national economy totaled 245.2 billion rubles—an increase of 20.5 billion (nine percent). Cooperatives accounted for about 30 percent of this increase. Average monthly wages of workers and employees increased from 259 to 282 rubles and wages of kolkhoz members, from 221 to 246 rubles.

In 1990 pensions of 3.6 million disabled persons and participants in the war, as well as of pensioners from families of dead servicemen, were recalculated toward an increase. Payments of pensions and allowances to the population increased by 5 billion rubles (12 percent). Proceeds from the sale of agricultural products by the population increased by 3.5 billion rubles (35.4 percent). Bonds previously floated among the population in the amount of 4.4 billion rubles were liquidated.

The monthly income per Russia's resident totaled 213 rubles. At the same time, one-sixth of the republic's population had an average monthly per-capita income of less than 100 rubles.

The population's consumer expenditures amounted to 286.8 billion rubles, increasing by 14.9 percent. Approximately one-third of this increase was due to the rise in average purchase prices of goods and services.

In connection with the general economic instability, devaluation of money, and the population's attempt to materialize its money accumulations, in 1990 a comparatively low increase in savings in deposits was noted (4.3 percent as compared with 30.9 percent in 1989). Their amount totaled 215.9 billion rubles.

Money emission exceeded the 1989 level almost twice. The excess of the population's money income over its expenditure reached 18 billion rubles, as compared with 10.4 billion rubles during the previous year.

The population's unmet demand totaled 128.6 billion rubles. Prices of consumer goods, including "black" market prices, rose six percent as compared with 1989. At the same time, state retail prices increased by 4.3 percent and prices of cooperative trade (city cooperative trade organizations), by 10.6 percent and of the kolkhoz market, by 34.4 percent. In 1990 a total of 95 percent of the retail commodity turnover was sold at state prices, three percent, at prices of city cooperative trade organizations, and two percent, at prices of the kolkhoz market.

Prices of nonfoodstuffs rose 5.8 percent and of foodstuffs, 3.8 percent. The following prices rose most noticeably: of clothing, underwear, knitted goods, and leather footwear (four to seven percent); of potatoes, vegetables, and fruits (22 to 35 percent).

Prices of the kolkhoz market especially began to rise by the end of the year. As compared with the corresponding periods of 1989, their rise was as follows: in nine months, 29 percent; in the third quarter, 36 percent; in October, 47 percent; in November, 50 percent; in December, 60 percent.

Prices of nonfoodstuffs produced by cooperatives exceeded state prices twofold. The "black" market also had an effect on the consolidated price index. On the average, its prices exceeded state retail prices two- or threefold and of some especially scarce goods, even more. According to the data of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the Study of Public Demand for Consumer Goods and Trade Conditions of the USSR Ministry of Trade, in the RSFSR 20 percent of the residents used its services.

Prices of everyday services rose 7.3 percent. Rates of paid services of cultural institutions rose 29.1 percent, of motion picture theaters, 47.4 percent, of notary's offices, 26.7 percent, and of legal advice bureaus, 12.0 percent.

Under conditions of state price regulation with the simultaneously arising shortage of goods inflation is characterized not only by the rise in prices of goods and services, but also by the formation of a forced deferred demand. Its annual increase in relation to the volume of the population's consumer expenditures reflects the magnitude of suppressed inflation. According to an estimate, in 1990 the total scale of inflation in the consumer sector with due regard for the price factor and its suppressed part comprised 19 percent.

Consumer Market

Consumer goods worth 250 billion rubles in retail prices were produced in 1990, which was 17 billion, or seven percent, more than in 1989. This increase is one-half of that envisaged for the year.

In 1990 foodstuffs worth 76.6 billion rubles were produced, which was 1.4 percent more than in 1989.

In 1990 the production of basic types of foodstuffs totaled:

	1990	1990 in percent of 1989
Meat (industrial output), million tons	6.5	98
Sausages, million tons	2.3	100.2
Butter, thousand tons	828	101
Whole milk products (in terms of milk), million tons	20.8	99.7
Fatty cheeses, thousand tons	453	98
Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tons	4.9	98

	1990	1990 in percent of 1989
Margarine products, thousand tons	808	95
Vegetable oil, million tons	1.2	103
Granulated sugar, million tons	3.6	85
including from sugar beets	2.5	83
Bread and flour products, million tons	18.1	103
Confectionery, million tons	2.8	104
Flour, million tons	20.5	103
Hulled and rolled products, million tons	2.8	96
Macaroni products, million tons	1.0	103
Canned food, billion standard cans	8.1	99.1
including canned fruits and vegetables	4.4	97
Mineral water, million decaliters	44.1	95
Nonalcoholic beverages, million decaliters	285	91
Table salt (output), million tons	4.2	99.0
Alcoholic beverages (in terms of absolute alcohol), million decaliters	75.3	108
Cigarettes with and without cardboard mouthpieces, billion	151	93
High-quality prepacked genuine tea, thousand tons	80.6	92

The production of meat decreased in most of the republic's territories and of butter and whole-milk products, almost in every second territory. Many food industry enterprises reduced the output of cheeses, granulated sugar, hulled and milled products, canned food, and fish and margarine products.

Nonfoodstuffs worth 141 billion rubles were produced, which was 13 billion (10 percent) more than in 1989. The increase was obtained largely through a rise in the output of household equipment and other goods for cultural and every-day purposes at enterprises of the defense complex.

The production of basic nonfoodstuffs totaled the following:

	1990	1990 in percent of 1989
Television sets, million	4.7	105
including color television sets	2.6	111
Refrigerators and freezers, million	3.8	105
Radio receivers, million units	5.7	104
including radio tape recorders and radio-phonograph combinations	0.8	125
Tape recorders, million	3.4	114
Videotape recorders, thousand	454	3.6-fold
Sewing machines, million	1.8	113
including of the "zigzag" type	1.0	105
Washing machines, million	5.5	121
Electric vacuum cleaners, million	4.5	112
Furniture, billion rubles	5.9	108
Motorcycles, thousand	686	105
Bicycles (without children's bicycles), million	3.6	104
Passenger cars, million	1.1	104
China, earthenware, and majolica, million rubles	561	104
Wallpaper, million standard pieces	375	103
White-paper goods, million rubles	627	108
Galvanic cells and batteries for electric household appliances, million	674	104
Greenhouses, including sets of parts for them, frames, and building blocks (in the part of the delivery to trade organizations), thousand	110	107

	1990	1990 in percent of 1989
Synthetic detergents in small prepacked units, thousand tons	656	112
Household soap, thousand tons	325	97
Toilet soap, thousand tons	190	101

The situation with light industry goods became aggravated. Their output totaled 51 billion rubles, which was 815 million, or 1.6 percent, more than in 1989. Virtually the entire increase was obtained owing to the rise in the output of products sold at contract prices.

The production of cotton, flax, and wool yarn, all types of fabrics, footwear, knitted goods for children and young people, and carpet and fur goods was reduced. The reasons for the lag resided in the lack of provision of enterprises with raw materials and in the reduction of deliveries of imported materials.

The debts of light and textile industries totaled 1.6 billion rubles, which was 3.7-fold more than in 1989. Every third enterprise did not fulfill contractual obligations. In 1991 the process of conclusion of contracts for the delivery of nonfoodstuffs was carried out slowly. In RSFSR territory as of 8 January 1991 the level of conclusion of contracts comprised only 73 percent (92 percent as of 11 January 1990).

Retail commodity turnover. In 1990 consumer goods worth 254 billion rubles were allocated for sale to the population, which in actual prices was 13 percent more than in 1989. The increase in the delivery of goods produced in the RSFSR to trade comprised 13 percent and of imported goods, 14 percent. However, under conditions of the greatly increased purchasing activity the increase in the delivery of goods to the market was little felt.

The retail commodity turnover totaled 265 billion rubles, increasing by 36 billion (16 percent in actual prices) as compared with 1989. Approximately 35 percent of the increase in the commodity turnover was ensured through the rise in prices and 65 percent, through commodity filling.

The volumes of delivery of food products from state resources to trade were two percent lower than the 1989 level. At the same time, the sale of sugar, grain products, milk, eggs, and confectionery increased by one to five percent, of margarine, by nine percent, of tea, by 11 percent, and of vegetable oil, by 13 percent. The sale of meat, meat products, fish, fish products, butter, and cheese remained at the 1989 level. The sale of potatoes decreased by six percent and of vegetables, fruits, and fruit and vegetable juices, by 11 to 17 percent.

The increase in the sale of individual food products brought about by speculative demand was ensured through an intensive use of retail trade stocks, which decreased by 4.8 billion rubles (15 percent) during the year. According to budget survey data, stocks of many food products among the population increased 1.5- to 2-fold as compared with 1989. Coupon distribution of foodstuffs became more widespread.

The sale of furniture, china, earthenware, high-quality glassware, refrigerators, television sets, cameras, motor gasoline, household soap, tobacco products, washing machines, and tape recorders increased by two to nine percent as compared with 1989, of cotton fabrics, sewn and knitted goods, footwear, electric vacuum cleaners, watches, radio receivers, and synthetic detergents, by 11 to 16 percent, of hosiery, by 22 percent, and of toilet soap, by 35 percent. At the same time, the sale of wool fabrics decreased by one percent and of timber, by seven percent.

The high rates of increase in the sale of some nonfoodstuffs were also maintained owing to the decrease in stocks in retail trade. At the end of the year their deficiency in relation to the set normative amounted to 8 billion rubles, or 25 percent.

In 1990 it was not possible to normalize trade in soap and synthetic detergents despite the increase in their production. The lack of imports in the second half year led to a 30-percent reduction in the deliveries of detergents to trade as compared with the second half year of 1989. The twofold increase in imports of tobacco products in the fourth quarter, as compared with the same period in 1989, slightly relieved their shortage in trade.

The population also experienced difficulties with the purchase of other goods in every-day demand (matches, cotton threads, toilet paper, and so forth).

On 1 January 1991 a total of 60 commercial stores operated in the republic. During the second half year of 1990 they sold goods worth 690 million rubles (0.5 percent of the total volume of the retail commodity turnover).

Last year 407 auctions were held, including 236 in Moscow. Proceeds from the sale of goods totaled 54 million rubles. The actual sale prices of goods at auctions exceeded their initially announced level two- to fourfold.

Interrepublic deliveries. In 1990 the Russian Federation fulfilled in a full volume the plans for interrepublic deliveries of knitted goods, leather and felt footwear, tea, and confectionery. Contractual obligations to the Union republics for the delivery of the following were not fulfilled: rubber footwear (nine percent); hosiery (24 percent); household soap (three percent).

The Union republics did not ensure the delivery of sewn goods, cotton and wool fabrics, and tobacco products to Russia.

Paid services. The volume of paid services in the Russian Federation totaled 41 billion rubles. The rate of growth, as compared with 1989, was six percent. Proceeds from the sale of timber, building materials, production waste, and other products at the place of work accounted for more than 40 percent of the growth.

Services connected with people's active rest and health restoration and with a reduction in labor expenditures on housekeeping did not develop sufficiently. The consumer properties of paid services and their quality and assortment did not correspond to consumers' needs.

Housing and Social and Cultural Development

In 1990 from all financing sources 983,000 apartments of a total area of 60.5 million square meters were commissioned. As compared with 1989, the commissioning of housing in the RSFSR declined by 14 percent and the volumes of housing construction were reduced in 64 territories and in Leningrad, Kabardino-Balkaria, and North Osetiya, by more than one-third.

The population commissioned 5.5 million square meters of dwelling houses at its expense and by means of state credit. The volumes of individual housing construction decreased by seven percent.

The construction of dwelling houses with the funds of housing construction cooperatives was carried out unsatisfactorily. With a plan of 3.9 million square meters of total area 2.9 million were commissioned.

Russia's available housing amounted to 2.4 billion square meters of total area. On the average, there were 16.3 square meters, including 11.0 square meters of living space, per resident.

More than 1 million families, or about 4 million people, improved their housing conditions. However, the number of those in need of improved housing conditions is not declining. At the beginning of 1991 it totaled about 10 million, or one-fifth of all the families in the republic. Basically, these are families having less than seven square meters of living space per person.

According to preliminary data, in 1990 more than 25,000 apartments of a total value of more than 100 million rubles were sold to the population.

From all financing sources the following were built: general educational schools for 508,600 student places (83 percent of the annual plan); preschool institutions for 228,800 places (76 percent); hospitals for 22,500 beds (66 percent); outpatient polyclinic institutions for 80,000 visits per shift (76 percent); clubs and houses of culture for 107,800 places (72 percent).

As compared with 1989, the commissioning of hospitals decreased by 37 percent, of outpatient polyclinic institutions, by 16 percent, of general educational schools, by 21 percent, of preschool institutions, by 19 percent, and of clubs and houses of culture, by 19 percent.

There was a serious lag in the construction of homes for aged and disabled persons, as well as disabled children. They were commissioned only for 5,500 places, or 54 percent of the annual plan.

Public Health

In 1990 the provision of the RSFSR population with hospital and outpatient polyclinic institutions, physicians, and medium-level medical personnel increased slightly. However, the material and technical base of public health remains weak. The problem with drug supply became aggravated.

In rural areas in a number of cases public health institutions are located in damaged buildings and hospitals do not have elementary communal conveniences. Their fitting with modern medical equipment remains weak.

The level of temporary disability owing to diseases, injuries, and care of patients did not drop. Work time losses in connection with this totaled about 700 million man-days, or, on the average, 10 days per worker. Influenza, common cold, and diseases of the osteomuscular system and of the blood circulation system, as well as injuries, were the main causes of temporary disability.

As compared with 1989, the number of Soviet citizens infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) increased by 89, at the end of 1990 totaling 443 (including 258 children), of whom 43 were sick (including 30 children). A total of 26 people suffering from HIV, including 17 children, died.

Education and Culture

The network of gymnasiums and lyceums is expanding in the RSFSR. During the current academic year 79,000 students acquire knowledge in 101 gymnasiums and 50,000, in 79 lyceums. The number of schools with instruction in the languages of national groups living in RSFSR territory increased.

In 1990 a total of 401,000 specialists with higher education and 637,000 with secondary specialized education were assigned to the republic's national economy, which was 32,000 and 3,000 fewer respectively than in 1989.

Admission to higher and secondary specialized educational institutions decreased. In 1990 higher educational institutions admitted 584,000 students and tekhnikums, 754,000 (in 1989 a total of 603,000 and 768,000 respectively).

The material base of public education remains weak as before. A shortage of premises for study and of laboratory and other equipment was felt in many schools, higher educational institutions, and tekhnikums. During the 1989/90 school year 4.2 million schoolchildren (22 percent of their total number) studied in the second shift and 60,000 (0.3 percent), in the third shift, while during the current school year 4.5 million (23 percent) and 78,000 (O.4 percent) respectively.

About 10 million children, or more than 70 percent of the children of the corresponding age, attended preschool institutions. More than 1 million children needed placement in preschool institutions.

A growing decline in interest in attendance at motion picture theaters (with the exception of video-salons), theaters, museums, and libraries was noted.

The material base of cultural institutions remains weak, especially in rural areas. Every fifth club in rural areas needs major repairs, or is not fit for use, and one-half do not have premises for circle work.

Condition of the Environment

In 1990 expenditures on ecology totaled about 9 billion rubles, including capital investments, 1.6 billion.

The condition of the air basin in regions with an especially tense ecological situation did not improve. As before, a critical level of atmospheric air pollution was noted in the cities of Bratsk, Groznyy, Kemerovo, Komsomolsk-on-Amur, Krasnoyarsk, Kuybyshev, Magnitogorsk, Nizhnyy Tagil, Novokuznetsk, Perm, and Chelyabinsk.

Bodies of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control recorded cases of extremely high and increased levels of environmental pollution as a result of accidental and occasional spillage. Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry discharged household fecal runoff into the Kuybyshev reservoir; of the RSFSR Ministry of the River Fleet, petroleum products into the Neva River in the region of Petrokrepost; of Roszhilkommunsoyuz, the runoffs of municipal services in the city of Vyazniki (Vladimir Oblast) into the Klyazma River and in the city of Ulyanovsk, into the Sviyaga River. An accidental pollution of the atmosphere was observed in the city of Asbest in Sverdlovsk Oblast (the Sintez Scientific Production Association), in the city of Novokuybyshevsk (the Novokuybyshevsk Oil Refining Plant and the Novokuybyshevsk Petrochemical Combine), and in the city of Tazovskiy in the Yamalo-Nenetsk Republic (Zapolyarneftegazgeologiya).

Owing to a violation of the requirements of nature protection legislation and on the insistence of the public, the operation of production facilities at the Oil Refining Plant imeni Lenin of the Groznefteorgsintez Production Association (USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry), the Krasnodar Vitamin Combine (USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry), the Vladimir Chemical Plant (USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry), and a number of other enterprises was stopped.

The process of utilization and burial of toxic waste poses a serious problem. According to survey data, more than 1.6 billion tons of harmful waste were accumulated at 5,900 enterprises alone. Only 16 percent of the formed waste is annually recycled (reused in production) and two percent is decontaminated (destroyed). The bulk of the toxic waste is stored at enterprise warehouses.

Infringements of the Law

In 1990 a total of 1.8 million crimes, 14 percent more than in 1989, were recorded in the republic. The increase in crime was noted in all RSFSR regions except Altay Kray.

The crime rate in the RSFSR totaled 1,243 crimes per 100,000 people. This indicator was the highest in Tuva ASSR (3,127 crimes), Maritime (1,998) and Khabarovsk (1,820) krays, and Tomsk (1,733) and Irkutsk (1,693) oblasts.

Property crimes comprised almost two-thirds of all the recorded crimes (a 19-percent increase). Thefts of state and public property increased by 35 percent and of citizens' private property, by 16 percent, embezzlements on an especially large scale, by 30 percent, speculation, by 13 percent, and bribery, by 23 percent. Premeditated violent crimes against the person increased by 10 percent. Every 11th crime was committed by minors or with their complicity and every 5th, in a state of alcoholic intoxication.

A total of 897,000 people who committed crimes, of whom women comprised 14 percent and minors, 17 percent, were exposed. Criminal proceedings were instituted against two-thirds of the persons who committed crimes.

Scientific and Technical Progress and Resource Saving

In 1990 it was not possible to attain a marked effect of science on production and an increase in the interest of enterprises in innovations. Rates of overall mechanization and automation of production slowed down. There was a significant reduction in the scale of their introduction into the food industry (19 percent), the building materials industry (22 percent), and machine building and metalworking (19 percent). The share of enterprises, which did not have overall mechanization and automation equipment throughout industry, made up 47 percent.

Computerization and informatization of production and management were carried out at insufficient rates. Enterprises of the republic's ministries and departments are poorly equipped with computers. For example, in the RSFSR Ministry of Agricultural Production, Rosstrom, and the RSFSR Ministry of Education less than two or three percent of all the enterprises and organizations had computers based on general-purpose and mini- and microprocessors. In the RSFSR, on the average, there was one personal computer per 600 to 700 workers.

In 1990 the volumes of work performed by scientific research institutes and design bureaus increased. At the same time, there was no qualitative improvement in the level of conducted research and development.

In 1990 fewer than 1,500 models of highly efficient, new equipment were developed in the RSFSR. At the same time, only one out of 16 surpassed the best world analogs and only one out of four contained inventions.

The volume of capital investments in science and scientific services made up two percent of their total volume. However, the allocated funds were utilized unsatisfactorily. For example, eight out of 13 start-up projects of the state order for interbranch scientific and technical complexes were not commissioned.

In machine building the share of new products in the total output comprised 8.7 percent, as compared with 9.7 percent in 1989. More than one-fourth of all the machine building products produced in 1990 and delivered for the national economy were developed and mastered in production as far back as before 1980.

Assignments for the production and delivery of new-generation equipment and materials for the national economy were not fulfilled. On the whole, the USSR and the RSFSR state order was realized 76 percent. The state order for the delivery of fundamentally new equipment for processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, a number of new types of complex household equipment, and drugs was not fulfilled.

In 1990 the efficiency of utilization of materials, fuel, and power decreased and the power and metal intensiveness of the national income increased.

The scale of application of advanced resource saving technologies changed negligibly. In the total volume of expenditures on the introduction of new technologies resource saving technologies accounted for less than eight percent. In the fuel and power complex the petroleum refining depth did not exceed the 1989 level. In the metallurgical complex the share of continuous steel casting in its total output made up 23.1 percent, as compared with 22.2 percent. In the construction complex the share of cement obtained by the economical "dry" method made up 15.0 percent, as compared with 15.5 percent.

Substantial losses of material resources occurred in the republic's national economy. In 1990 the total volume of recorded losses at all the stages of public reproduction totaled about 30 billion rubles, or seven percent of the value of consumed raw and basic materials, fuel, and power. Losses due to the underutilization of raw materials and waste made up almost one-third of the total volume.

And so, losses of fuel and power resources totaled about 4 million tons of standard fuel. The volume of secondary heat and fuel resources drawn into the national economic turnover remained at the 1989 level (about 40 million tons). As a result of the replacement of grade sizes, deterioration in quality, and output of defective products alone, more than 220,000 tons of metal were overexpended in the Russian Federation. In the republic savings from the use of basic types of secondary raw materials totaled 1.8 billion rubles, which was below the 1989 level.

Industry

The disruption in economic ties and weakening of production, labor, and contractual discipline led to a decline in production. As compared with 1989, the total volume of industrial output decreased by 2.8 billion rubles (0.6 percent). At the same time, the output of group "A" declined by 2.6 percent, while the production of consumer goods of group "B" increased by 5.9 percent. More than one-half of the republic's territories lowered the volumes of industrial production.

Labor productivity in industry increased by 1.9 percent. The number of workers decreased by 0.5 million, or by 2.8 percent. Production costs of industrial products rose.

The volume of products not delivered to consumers owing to the violation of contractual obligations totaled 10.1 billion rubles, which was 3.5 billion more than in 1989. Delivery obligations were fulfilled 97.9 percent. A total of 25.2 percent of the enterprises did not ensure their fulfillment (in 1989, a total of 98.6 and 19.7 percent respectively).

In 1991 there is a big lag in the conclusion of contracts for the delivery of products. As of 8 January 1991 the level of conclusion of contracts made up 77 percent (on 11 January 1990, a total of 95 percent).

In 1990 the volume of unlimited sale of products for production and technical purposes totaled 68.5 billion rubles, increasing by 14 percent as compared with 1989.

Individual indicators of activity by enterprises forming national economic complexes in 1990 are presented below (in percent):

	Fulfillment of contractual obligations for deliveries of products	Products not delivered to consumers, million rubles	Share of enterprises not fulfilling contractual obligations	Actual rates of growth of the volume of output (work and services)
Fuel and power complex	98.2	651	34.3	99.1
Machine building complex	98.5	939	39.1	103.0
Metallurgical complex	97.1	1358	48.0	97.7
Timber chemical complex	96.3	2726	60.7	99.2
Agro-industrial complex	98.3	1192	17.7	99.3
Construction complex	96.7	391	39.9	99.6
Roslegprom Association and Rostekstil Concern	97.1	1590	37.8	99.4

At more than 70 percent of the surveyed projects commissioned and reconstructed in the last two years, on the average, capacities were used 50 percent. With the acute deficiency of goods for the population and the housing shortage new capacities for the production of building materials and consumer goods were used unsatisfactorily. At surveyed projects alone, owing to the failure to meet the dates of mastering of capacities, losses of products totaled about 300 million rubles.

In the fuel and power complex the extraction and production of basic types of energy resources decreased (with the exception of gas, whose production increased four percent). In 1990, on the whole, the extraction of basic types of fuel in terms of a caloric equivalent totaled 1,746 million tons of standard fuel, which was 33 million tons (two percent) less than in 1989. The drop of 35.8 million tons (seven percent) in oil production was brought about mainly by the significant lag in the operation of production associations in West Siberia. In the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry coal output declined virtually at all coal mining enterprises with the exception of Vorkutaugol and Krasnoyarskugol production associations and the Raspadskaya Mine.

The output of electric power increased by 0.5 percent, basically, owing to the rise in the load on thermal electric power stations. The coefficient of utilization of their capacity greatly exceeded the planned norm, which led to additional fuel consumption and pollution of the environment.

The shortage of raw and basic material resources, primarily coking coals and metal scrap, the high degree of equipment wear, and the shutdown of some ecologically unreliable units had an effect on the operation of the metallurgical complex. Steel output and the production of finished rolled ferrous metal products made up 97 percent, as compared with the 1989 level, and the output of steel pipes, 95 percent.

The needs of the national economy for metal products, including for their advanced types, that is, rolled products from low-alloy steel with hardening heat treatment, high-strength drill pipes, and a number of other products, were not met. The output of some key nonferrous metallurgical products decreased.

In the machine building complex there was a reduction in the volumes of production of large electric machines, a.c electric motors, blast-furnace and steel smelting equipment, railroad passenger cars, buses, and tractors, as well as of such advanced products as rotor and rotor-conveyer lines for machine building and metalworking, machinery and equipment for continuous billet casting, and processing centers. Disruptions in cooperated ties among plants seriously complicated the operation of enterprises.

The production of technological equipment and spare parts for light industry increased by 14 percent and of processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, by 37 percent. At the same time, with respect to individual items there was a lag behind the planned volumes of output and with respect to a number of them the 1989 production level was not attained (automatic hosiery machines, pulling-over and lasting, as well as tempering, machines, and lines and automatic machines for weighing and packing loose food products).

The republic's national economy did not receive a significant quantity of road construction equipment.

There was a chronic lag in the production of basic products of the timber chemical complex. The output of advanced polymeric materials and products based on them, chemical fibers and threads, synthetic dyes, and the most important raw material and other chemical products decreased.

The need of the agro-industrial complex for mineral fertilizers, drive belts, tires for agricultural machinery, fuels, and lubricants was not met. Owing to the reduction in the volumes of soda ash production, the shortage of glass containers increased.

There was a significant reduction in the production of key timber products: commercial timber, sawn timber, plywood, wallboards, carpentry articles, prefabricated wooden houses, pulp, and paper. The orders of trade organizations for wood materials and products were met less than 60 percent.

The output of some medical and microbiological products decreased as a result of the shutdown or temporary suspension of a number of production facilities for ecological reasons. The reduction in the production of virtually all products of the construction complex complicated to a significant extent the realization of programs for housing and industrial construction and intensified the shortage of building materials at the consumer market. As compared with 1989, the output of cement was lowered by 1.5 million tons (two percent), of slate, by 67.5 million standard tiles (one percent), of building brick, by 460 million standard pieces (two percent), of precast reinforced concrete, by 2.9 million cubic meters (five), and of window glass, by 19.7 million square meters (13 percent). The output of products of high building readiness, that is, panels and other structures for large-panel house building, light metal structures, and structures and articles from aluminum alloys, was reduced.

Agro-Industrial Complex

In 1990 the results of operation of the agro-industrial complex were lower than during the previous year. The total volume of output of this complex amounted to 233 billion rubles (in comparable prices), decreasing by 1.4 percent, as compared with 1989. The value of gross agricultural output decreased by four percent, totaling 102 billion rubles in comparable prices of 1983. At the same time, plant output was reduced by eight percent and livestock output, by one percent. Labor productivity in public agriculture was lowered by three percent, while the number of workers decreased by 0.3 million.

The republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes ended the year with a profit of 26 billion rubles and with a profitability level of 35 percent. A total of 273 farms in the republic (one percent) ended the year with a loss.

In 1990, on the whole, the grain harvest was the highest in the last 10 years. The gross output of other agricultural crops declined as compared with 1989 (million tons):

	1986-1990 (on the average, per year)	1990	1986-1990 in percent of 1981-1985	1990 in percent of 1989
Grain crops:				
in weight after processing	104.3	116.8	113	111
in initially recorded weight	114.0	127.0	115	112
Sugar beets (factory sugar beets)	32.8	30.6	131	82
Sunflower seeds	3.1	3.4	134	90
Potatoes	35.9	31.0	93	92
Vegeables	11.2	10.3	92	92
Fruits and berries	2.6	2.3	93	88
Grapes, thousand tons	686	615	81	91

As compared with 1989, the production of groat crops decreased by 880,000 tons (19 percent). At the same time, the production of millet decreased by 841,000 tons (30 percent) and of rice, by 90,000 tons (nine percent) and that of buckwheat increased by 51,000 tons (seven percent).

Owing to shortcomings in the performance of harvest work and complex weather conditions, significant losses of plant products occurred.

State resources received about 34 million tons of grain, which was 13.6 million tons less than the state order. As compared with 1989, purchases of wheat, rye, barley, and pulse crops increased. Less millet, buckwheat, rice, corn, and oats were purchased.

The volume of potato purchases decreased by 1.6 million tons, or by 22 percent, of vegetables, by 0.7 million (nine percent), and of fruits and berries, by 113,000 tons (nine percent). The assignment for deliveries of potatoes to all-Union and republic (RSFSR) stocks established for the year was fulfilled only 37 percent, of vegetables, 79 percent, of fruits, 32 percent, and of berries, 27 percent.

Less sugar beets and sunflower seeds than in 1989 were purchased. The state order for these crops was fulfilled 88 and 82 percent respectively.

There was a considerable lag in the performance of fall field work on establishing the basis for the 1991 harvest. The sowing of winter crops decreased by 14 percent (16.9 million hectares), as compared with 1989, and the plowing of fall fields, by 19 percent (53.5 million hectares).

The steady annual increase in the production of livestock products during the first three years of the past five-year plan gave way to a decline in rates and of individual products, to a reduction in volumes in 1989-1990. The production of basic livestock products in all farm categories changed as follows:

	1986-1990 (on the average, annually)	1990	1986-1990 in percent of 1981-1985	1990 in percent of 1989
Meat (in carcass weight), million tons	9.7	10.0	120	99.4
Milk, million tons	54.3	56.0	111	100.5
Eggs, billion	47.9	47.5	111	97
Wool (in physical weight), thousand tons	225	224	102	97

As compared with 1989, the production of meat was reduced in 40 territories, of milk, in 32, and of eggs, in 61. The reduction in the production of basic livestock products resulted in a decrease in the volumes of their purchases in all farm categories:

	1986-1990 (on the average, annually)	1990	1986-1990 in percent of 1981-1985	1990 in percent of 1989
Livestock and poultry (in carcass weight), million tons	7.2	7.5	129	99
Milk, million tons	39.0	40.1	119	99
Eggs, billion	33.9	33.6	115	98
Wool (in terms of pure fiber), thousand tons	110	111	105	97

In 1990 forward contracts for the purchase of livestock and poultry were fulfilled 100.3 percent, of milk, 100.6 percent, and of eggs, 101 percent.

In 1990 the republic fulfilled the state order for the delivery of meat products to all-Union and republic (RSFSR) stocks 83 percent, of dairy products, 91 percent, and of eggs, 103 percent.

A decrease in the livestock population continued in the republic. On 1 January 1991 the cattle population totaled 57 million head (97 percent in relation to the same date in 1990), including 20.6 million cows (99 percent), 38.3 million hogs (96 percent), and 58.2 million sheep and goats (95 percent). The reduction in the livestock population was not compensated by an increase in its productivity.

In 1990 contractual obligations for the delivery of most types of equipment and fertilizers to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises and for the shipment of peat were not fulfilled and tendencies toward a further reduction in delivery volumes persisted.

In 1990 from all financing sources 38.3 billion rubles were used for the development of the agro-industrial complex, including sectors providing agriculture with the means of production. This was three percent more than in 1989. From the total volume of investments the development of processing sectors accounted for nine percent, or 3.6 billion rubles (10 percent more than in 1989). A total of 8.9 billion rubles of capital investments (three percent more) were used for the construction of projects for residential housing purposes for the workers of this complex.

Capital Construction

The state of affairs in capital construction worsened. The start-up program for the commissioning of production projects and capacities was disrupted owing to the unbalance of the construction program with material resources and destabilization of material and technical provision for construction projects. Only 178 out of 507 projects of the state order, or 35 percent, were commissioned. Such a situation with the nonfulfillment of the start-up program was observed for the first time.

The assignment for commissioning capacities for the output of footwear and sewn goods was fulfilled less than 25 percent and for furniture production, 50 percent. The state order for commissioning capacities for the production of drugs was ensured 54 percent. A total of 13 out of 19 major projects for the production of nonfoodstuffs at enterprises of defense sectors of industry were not commissioned. They include capacities for the output of refrigerators at the Leningrad Sputnik Machine Building Association, of washing machines at the Krasnoye Sormovo Plant, and of television sets at the Moscow Temp Production Association.

As compared with 1989, the volume of performed contract work was reduced by 11 percent. The fulfillment of contractual obligations by contract organizations at start-up projects in the social sphere decreased significantly (by 0.7 billion rubles, or six percent). The failure to meet contractual obligations for the delivery of basic types of building materials and the shortage of skilled worker personnel, owing to their outflow into cooperatives, were the reasons for such a situation. As compared with 1989, the number of workers employed in the state construction sector was reduced by eight percent.

The disruption in the commissioning of production capacities and projects brought about an increase in incomplete construction. According to a preliminary evaluation, it amounted to more than 125 billion rubles, including above-normative incomplete construction, 37 billion.

Transport and Communication

In public transport the volumes of passenger transport increased. During the year the rise in the passenger traffic comprised 2.4 percent. The state order for passenger traffic in air transport was fulfilled 104 percent and in railroad transport, 99.9 percent.

Owing to the persisting shortage of carrying capacities of railroad and air transport, public demand for intercity transport is not met. According to calculations, in 1990 more than 15 million of the republic's residents were unable to make use of Aeroflot services. In internal Union air lines every fifth flight was not on schedule and the average time of delay per airplane exceeded four hours. A total of 16 percent of the passenger trains (except suburban trains) arrived late at the station of destination. A total of 25 million planned bus trips were not executed and 5 million buses arrived late at the final point. River passenger vessels made 2,200 trips not on schedule.

City and suburban passenger transport operated with big overloads and irregularly. Surveys showed that during morning "peak" hours more than 40 percent of the suburban trains arrived late at oblast, kray, and republic centers. Passenger transport by taxis annually decreased by almost 40 million people (six percent).

The accident rate in transport increased. As compared with 1989, the number of accidents on roads and streets increased by four percent, totaling 197,000. In these accidents 35,000 people (eight percent more than in 1989) died and 214,000 people (three percent more) were wounded. In RSFSR territory on railroads there were 36 crashes (in 1989 there were 31) and 37 accidents (31) with freight and passenger trains.

The crisis phenomena in the economy, destabilization of the political situation in a number of regions, especially in the Transcaucasus, and reduction in production volumes and shortcomings in the operation of transport enterprises led to a four-percent reduction in freight hauls by all types of transport as compared with 1989. Railroad transport did not fulfill the state order for the hauling of the most important freight. Public motor transport did not cope with contractual obligations in a full volume.

A timely shipment of products from railroad enterprises and stations was not ensured. As of 1 January 1991 there were 39.6 million tons of freight (for seven days of railroad operation) on loading sites adjoining railroad lines. During the year the average daily remainders of railroad cars not unloaded on schedule through the fault of freight recipients totaled 17,200, which was twice as much as in 1989, and of containers not shipped by freight recipients from railroad stations, 119,000 (1.5-fold above the norm). The layovers of railroad cars at motor access roads of state trade and consumer cooperative enterprises exceeded the norm 1.4- to 1.6-fold.

Embezzlements of state and public property in transport increased. In 1990 a total of 44,000 such crimes were recorded, which was 1.6-fold more than in 1989.

Communication enterprises of the RSFSR Ministry of Communication provided services worth 6.0 billion rubles (six percent more than in 1989) to the national economy and the population, including 2.2 billion rubles (nine percent), to the population. The quality of postal services for the public deteriorated. The untimely delivery of written correspondence and periodicals gave rise to numerous reprimands. During the year 1.3-fold more items of mail were lost and stolen than in 1989.

In 1990 the public telephone network increased by almost 1 million numbers and the state order was fulfilled 79 percent. More than 10 million people are in line for telephone installation.

In 1991 the subscription to central newspapers and journals was reduced by 31 and 42 percent respectively and to republic ones, by 60 and 58 percent.

Agricultural

Official Interviewed on Coming Food Situation

PM1203112491 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[A. Gamov report on an interview with N.V. Krasnoshchekov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, under the rubric "Critical Situation"; place and date not given: "Quotas Will Not Get the Plowing Done...."]

[Text] There is no need to point out how difficult the situation regarding food supplies to the population is turning out to be this year. You would think things could hardly get worse, yet the situation is deteriorating all the time....

In accordance with the program of urgent measures to stabilize the situation on the consumer market, in 1991 it is planned to produce 150 different types of food products amounting to a total of 156 billion rubles [R] (true, this is at 1990's retail prices). But even in the first two months of the year the planned targets were not reached. Moreover, in the country as a whole there was a 10-percent reduction in meat production compared with the same period last year—a shortfall of 179,000 tonnes; milk production fell 6 percent (the shortfall totaled one-third of a million tonnes); sugar production was 208,000 tonnes down; and we also suffered shortfalls in many other types of output.

Much has already been said about why such a sharp decline has taken place. There is the general decline in discipline, the city's parasitic attitude toward the countryside, the unfavorable weather conditions. As a result a large quantity of grain, potatoes, and beet remained unharvested. Hence the lack of feed that our livestock raising is suffering and the shortage of raw materials experienced by the sugar industry.

Naturally, many people are worried today: Will a similar situation be repeated this year? How can the program to stabilize the country's food situation be secured against the threat of disruption? We asked N.V. Krasnoshchekov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, to answer these questions.

As for preparations for the coming spring field work, the situation here is not very favorable, Nikolay Vasilyevich thinks. The fact is that because of bad weather conditions nearly 20 million hectares of land that should have been plowed last fall has not yet been plowed, and we did not sow 5 million hectares of winter crops—all this will have to be made up for this spring. Thus it will be necessary to carry out a volume of work nearly 25 percent in excess of our traditional norms. But that is the countrywide average. In individual regions, the situation is even more acute. In the Russian Federation, for instance, it is necessary to plow 2.7 times more land than in 1990, and in the central Chernozem oblasts we have a six-fold increase in the volume of such work.

Naturally, technical support is causing most concern today. This, unfortunately, is still lagging behind the necessary level. Some regions in the south of the country are already beginning field work, yet it is here that the level of preparedness of equipment is lower than the countrywide average. Although even the average indicator, when it comes to tractors, is lagging behind last year's. Nearly 390,000 tractors, including 21,000 K-700's, still have to be serviced. If they are not made ready in time, Kazakhstan will not be able to cope with the enormous volume of work that has to be done. Furthermore nearly 250,000 trucks have not yet been serviced, as well as half the grain harvesting combines. The situation is also bad as regards the repair of plows, seeding machines....

What is holding things up? In our country today the situation as regards the supply of spare parts for the machine and tractor pool is critical. On many kolkhozes and sovkhozes and at specialized repair enterprises there are no pistons for K-700's, because the Alma-Ata plant has stopped deliveries. There are not enough fuel pumps. The Yaroslavl Motor Plant has gone over to so-called brand-name servicing; it now has a monopoly of spare parts and is not supplying them to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There are not enough components for the repair of soil cultivation and sowing equipment. Machine operators are now forced to engage in rationalization and try to repair equipment by all kinds of methods. But after that, the equipment is hardly likely to work reliably or efficiently.

Of course, these losses could to some extent be made up for by deliveries of new equipment to the countryside. But unfortunately things are even worse as regards these deliveries. The country's combine and tractor pools will decline this year—in both quantity and quality. Judge for yourself: In 1987 we had 2,552,000 tractors—that is not counting specialized tractors. This year there will be nearly 100,000 fewer. Things will be particularly tight for the Russian Federation—compared with the 1988 level, when 1,455,000 tractors were operating in the republic, the number will go down by nearly 60,000. There will be fewer seeding machines working in the fields.

The story is the same with grain harvesting combines. The maximum number our country had was in 1987—804,900. This year probably only 662,500 combines will be working on the harvest. In Russia the quantity of such equipment will fall from 494,000 to 390,000 machines, that is, by around 100,000. The situation with feed harvesting machinery is no better....

All this is due to the fact that that giant of our country's combine building industry, "Rostselmash," is at a standstill. The reason is that it is not being supplied with subassemblies, in particular radiators and engines, but also rubber goods and sheet steel. But the situation is particularly bad as regards reapers. The Tula reapers plant is working less well than ever before. The shortfall in deliveries of these assemblies is already more than 9,000.

As for spare parts, industry has accepted an order for deliveries amounting to only 57 percent of what is needed. The countryside is receiving considerably less than the promised volume.

The sector's priorities are in general merely the subject of declarations today. In practice everything is the other way round. The main producer of agricultural equipment—the Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building—is now being supplied with fewer resources (metal, subassemblies, rubber goods, and so forth) than in any other year. Apart from "Rostselmash," the "Krasnaya Zvezda" Plant, the main producer of seeding machines, is also idle. Nearly 1,500 tractors lacking the full set of components have accumulated at the Altay Tractor Plant....

But if only that was all. Many regions of the country, particularly in the south, are now embarking on the sowing of early vegetables, which are grown under polyethylene film. In past years, in general there was no problem with this material. But this year only 42 percent of the demand for film has been met. As a result the shortfall of early vegetables will amount to some 70,000 tonnes.

There is an acute shortage of fertilizers, especially nitrogenous—the farms only have 86 percent of the supplies they need. The pesticide situation is very difficult. Unless matters are rectified, specialists calculate that we will see a shortfall of 15-20 million tonnes of grain, 20-30 million tonnes of sugar beet, and the same quantity of potatoes.

Then there is gasoline and diesel fuel.... In the main, quite good quotas of these resources have been allocated to agriculture. But quotas are pie in the sky. Since the beginning of the year there has already been a shortfall in deliveries of 40,000 tonnes of gas and 20,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. The situation is particularly bad as regards diesel oils, without which heavy-duty engines cannot operate.

The measures now being adopted by the country's leadership to stabilize the situation in agriculture inspire some optimism. As you know, the president recently met with the leaders of all the departments responsible for material and technical support for the sector. Questions concerning preparations for the spring were also discussed. The Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building, Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, and other departments were instructed to improve supplies to agriculture.

Furthermore all these questions were also examined at a session of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. Additional resources are being allocated to the sector, including film, oils, and fuel. The possibility of purchasing pesticides abroad is being investigated. Very strict instructions have been issued on improving deliveries of spare parts to agriculture.

It is hard now to predict the situation that could arise in the long term, but of course, one would like to hope for an improvement....

Scientific

'Nadezhda' Navigation Satellite Launched

LD1303091591 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—An artificial Earth satellite, "Nadezhda", was launched by the carrier rocket "Cosmos" in the Soviet Union on Tuesday.

The satellite carries navigational system equipment to locate the whereabouts of vessels of the Soviet marine and fishing fleet, as well as equipment to contribute to the work of the international space system to search for and rescue ships and planes in distress (Cospas-Sarsat).

The equipment aboard the Sputnik is functioning normally.

The coordination-computing centre is processing the incoming information.

Cosmonauts Mark 100th Day in Space

LD1203172991 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov have been working in space for 100 days today.

Under the flight programme, the cosmonauts will today carry out technical and astrophysical experiments and prepare scientific equipment for future explorations.

To determine the atmosphere's physical characteristics around the Mir research complex, the cosmonauts are conducting the "Diagramma" experiment. Measurements are being taken with a magnetic-discharge sensor put out into outer space with a jib through an air lock.

Using instruments installed on the outer surface of the kristall module, the crew will today carry out several investigations of space radiation spectrums.

The space mission continues.

Satellite TV Reception System Produced

LD0703221191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 7 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Lipskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 7 Mar (TASS)—The "Gorizont" production association in Minsk has prepared for release onto the country's consumer market a satellite television system, intended for receiving scores of programs of foreign TV companies. The new product, which is technically not inferior to similar foreign products, is an original development by Minsk electronic engineers.

"This year we intend to produce only 50 such devices," Aleksandr Urbanovich, the association's chief engineer, said in an interview for TASS. For starting mass production, we do not have sufficient hard currency to purchasw high-precision components abroad. Unfortunately, the republic is situated in a so-called "unreliable reception zone," which is why our equipment will not produce a high-quality picture without imported converters.

As recently as a few years ago the import into the Soviet Union of such devices was forbidden. The normalization of relations between East and West in the framework of perestroyka has opened the doors of our country to satellite aerials. Belorussia has become a pioneer in establishing the production of Soviet satellite TV systems.

Military

Western Group of Forces Ready for Referendum

PM1303110191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Preparations Are Coming to an End"]

[Text] Berlin, 11 Mar—A combined unit of the Western Group of Forces, which I was visiting to find out how preparations for the referendum on preserving the USSR were going, met me in a businesslike and cordial manner.

The officer in charge of the political section, Colonel Vyacheslav Gvoromadze, talked about the unit's personnel, history, and traditions. But direct familiarization with their work started in the library, where the consultation and information unit had been set up in preparation for the 17 March referendum. Major Valeriy Venetskiy, chairman of the unit's precinct commission, stated confidently: "Few of the young people today have doubts about maintaining the reformed Union's integrity."

...A group of military drivers were discussing some matters in a vehicle service area. When I asked what they thought about the referendum, they replied in a friendly manner: "We recently conducted an evening question and answer session. It turned out to be interesting. We will use our votes in the correct manner. There is no reason to destroy the Union."

I found out from an acquaintance of mine, an officer and journalist who is a member of the commission for preparing and conducting the referendum, that the ballots have already been delivered to the unit. This means that everything is ready here for the ballot.

This is also backed up by what Major General Aleksey Kozlov, first deputy chief of the Military-Political Directorate of the Western Group of Forces, said.

At the present time, he said, extensive organizational, political, and ideological work in connection with the forthcoming referendum is being carried out in the group of forces. We understand its significance for our Union's destiny, and proceeding from this, we are defining the direction the practical activity will take. In the group's units and subunits the organizational and technical problems have been resolved by now. We are continuing to work on issues which shape public opinion and people's attitudes.

As you know, a decision has been adopted to withdraw the group from German territory before 1994. Taking this into account, we have concentrated our attention on working with the personnel of those combined units which are subject to withdrawal this year. We are explaining to the men and officers what measures the government and the USSR Ministry of Defense are taking to give them a fitting reception in the motherland, how social problems will be resolved, and what temporary difficulties may be encountered.

I can say with certainty that 99.5 percent of the personnel will take part in the 17 March ballot on German territory itself. Those accompanying military freight that day, will vote en route. Conditions have been created for this. They will also be able to vote in districts inside the Soviet Union.

Moscow Military District Party Conference Held

PM1203144191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[F. Mikhaylov report: "Party Conference"]

[Text] Moscow Military District has held its 36th party conference. It discussed the question of the progress made in restructuring party work and implementing the 28th CPSU Congress' decisions among the district's troops and the tasks facing all Communists' new party structures with regard to boosting the effectiveness of their activity under contemporary conditions. Lieutenant General A. Makunin, member of the Military Council and chief of the district's political directorate, delivered a report.

Both the report and the speeches analyzed the state of party work in contemporary conditions where confrontation between the forces of perestroyka and destructive forces has become exacerbated, along with attacks on the CPSU and the desire to replace them [as published] with new structures. The question of how to structure work within troop units given the deterioration in interethnic relations was also discussed.

O.S. Shenin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, addressed the conference. A. Ilin, second secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Kuznetsov, secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Defense Space Units' Party Conference Held

PM0703110591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Zyubin report: "Unity of Aim and Discipline"]

[Text] The Second Party Conference of the USSR Ministry of Defense Space Units has been held. Lieutenant General I. Kurinnyy, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Space Units Political Directorate, gave a report on the renewal of party work and the action program for space unit Communists at the current stage.

The following addressed the party conference: A. Soshnikov, senior official on the USSR President's apparatus; Colonel General V. Ivanov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Space Units; Colonel V. Solovyev, Lieutenant Colonel V. Zarubin, and Major A. Kireyev.

The party committee and delegates to the all-Army party conference were elected.

Officer Claims Army Fired Him for Leaving CPSU

PM1303150191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Union Edition p 6

[N. Burbyga report: "What Happens to an Officer Who Has Left the CPSU?"]

[Text] Until recently, Captain A. Bezrukov was unit propagandist and party organization secretary at the same time. But he recently asked Communists to elect a replacement for him and then left the CPSU. He attributed his decision to the fact that he disagrees with party policy. He says that there was an immediate reaction.

The captain was summoned by Colonel V. Zhitinev, political department chief, and told that he would be accountable for his actions and, more precisely, would be discharged from the Armed Forces.

[Bezrukov] How can this be happening! I'm still a young officer. I have served in the Army for just eight years. I have always tried to be exemplary in my work, I have not had any reprimands. I want to carry on. I'm ready to take any post, if I am unable to keep my former post. But few people heeded my arguments. Senior chiefs regard me as a criminal. I am being deprived of a chance to serve until pensionable age [Bezrukov ends].

I must say that this is not the first appeal that the editorial office has received from officers who think that they have been "given short shrift" for voluntarily leaving the CPSU. We asked Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, to comment on this situation.

[Stefanovskiy] I must say that today, party membership is not an indispensable condition for professional advancement in the Army. Some servicemen have indeed expressed a desire to leave the CPSU. But I also know of other cases where an officer reprimanded in the course of his service and recommended for discharge from the Armed Forces by his command suddenly left the party voluntarily and then tried to present his discharge as reprisals against him for leaving the CPSU alone. That is why we are carefully checking out all the cases of which you are aware. We are also investigating the officer who has appealed to the editorial office. If any violations have been committed with regard to Bezrukov, we will help to eliminate them.

[Burbyga] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, if it isn't a secret, how many servicemen have left the CPSU to date?

[Stefanovskiy] It's no secret. In 1990 34,000 servicemen left the CPSU, while more than 41,000 people joined, which represents an increase of 3.7 percent on the previous year.

Baltic Republics

Estonia Seeks 'Negotiations' on Independence

LD1203121391 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The [Estonian] Supreme Soviet on Toompea today endorsed the 3 March referendum results. [passage omitted]

A statement of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet was also adopted today—it is addressed to the legislatures and governments of all states—as well as an address to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. I would like to read out an excerpt [from the latter]: According to the [3 March] referendum results the will of the Estonian people has received a convincing confirmation to restore the state independence of the Republic of Estonia. Thus one should view any attempts to tie Estonia to the USSR system of authority as being contrary to the will of the Estonian people. The referendum outcome commits both the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet and the [Estonian] Government to not participating in the talks on the Union Treaty or joining the Union Treaty in whatever form. The Supreme Soviet confirms again that it is ready for negotiations with the Soviet Union on the issues of making good the injustice which befell the Estonian people in 1940 and of restoring the state independence of the Republic of Estonia. It expresses support for a possibly speedy start of the negotiations. Taking into account your outstanding contribution to the shaping of today's Europe, we also expect respect from you personally in honoring the will of the Estonian people.

[Signed] Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet, Tallinn, 11 March 1991. [passage omitted]

Estonia Rules Against 17 Mar Union Referendum

LD1203165191 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn March 12 TASS—The Estonian parliament has decided against holding an all-Union referendum, which is scheduled for March 17, in the republic "for lack of conditions here for people's polling with legal consequences".

Such considerations as the possibility of "a senseless aggravation of the already tense internal political situation" and the results of the March 3 poll on the restoration of the state sovereignty and independence of the Estonian Republic are being adduced as arguments against holding the referendum.

More than 82 per cent of the permanent adult population of the republic are known to have taken part in the republican independence poll and 77.8 per cent of respondents answered the question in the affirmative.

The Estonian parliament, having ruled out the possibility of Estonia's joining a Union treaty which is being elaborated by the leadership of the USSR, addressed President Mikhail Gorbachev, expressing hope for the earliest start of talks on issues concerning "the redressment of the injustice that befell the Estonian people in 1940 and restoration of its state sovereignty".

A group of deputies representing the Russian-speaking population of the republic protested at the decision on Estonia's non-participation in the March 17 all-Union referendum.

They issued a statement saying that non-participation in the referendum does not accord with the vital aspirations of a considerable proportion of the people of Estonia. The authors of the protest believe that every resident of Estonia should be given the right to express his or her attitude to the USSR as a renewed federation of sovereign republics.

The municipal authorities of Narva, Kohtla Jarve and Sillamae, as well as the work collectives of some enterprises in other regions of the republic have decided to hold the all-Union referendum.

Bank of Estonia Prepares for Money Exchange

LD1203235691 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By ELTA-TASS correspondent Ruta Pels]

[Text] Tallinn March 12 TASS—The Bank of Estonia today began buying hard currency from individuals.

Bank President Rein Otsason told a news conference on Monday that the initial exchange rate for the Finnish mark would be 6.20 roubles per one mark.

If the bank buys enough, it will start selling currency to individuals on Wednesday. The bank will charge seven per cent commission for the buying/selling operation. Legal persons will sell and buy currency at auction sales.

At the last auction in Tallinn, 137,442 U.S. dollars were sold at 43.51 roubles per one dollar, 204,468 Finnish marks at 11.50 roubles per one mark and 43,400 German marks at 23.98 roubles per one mark.

At an auction in Moscow on February 28, one U.S. dollar fetched 35.05 roubles.

Latvian Poll, Union Referendum Compared

91UN1020B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 9, 6 Mar 91 p 3

[Article by correspondent Tatyana Fast in Latvia: "A. Rubiks, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee: 'This Is Strictly an Endeavor of the State'"]

[Text] Janis Dinevics, leader of the parliamentary majority faction, admitted recently: "Apparently a continuation of the war of laws in Latvia through the war of referendums lies ahead." This has to do with the Supreme Soviet of the republic finding the holding of the Union referendum unacceptable from both the legal and moral points of view.

Aivars Endzins, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislation, explained: "Participation in the referendum would amount to abandoning the Declaration on Restoring the Independence of Latvia. However, the main point is that the results of this referendum in our republic do not influence in any way the future of the republic itself because they will be determined by the overall outcome of the vote in the entire Union. This is an act of pure propaganda."

Meanwhile, the need to determine the attitude of the people toward the future of the republic was becoming increasingly acute with every passing day, especially given a balanced demographic situation. This is why the Supreme Soviet decided to ask the citizens its own question: "Are you in favor of a democratic and independent statehood of Latvia?"

In turn, the republic opposition took a negative stand on the wording and the decision itself. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee stated that "a poll cannot replace a popular vote... and does not make it possible to answer in a democratic matter... whether the USSR is to be or not to be." The parliamentary opposition faction Equal Rights warned that a poll "cannot have legal or political consequences for the republic" and reserved the right not to participate in it.

The decision of the Supreme Soviet did not prevent the citizens of Latvia from taking a stand on both the independence of Latvia and the integrity of the Union. Interesting paradoxes came out in this instance. Unexpected alignments and incestuous activities occurred in the ranks of various parties and organizations. Thus, the extreme left wing of the Latvian independence movement, the Citizens Committee, which boycotts the republic poll "under an occupation regime" and the Communist Party of Latvia, which denies that the poll is solid, suddenly turned out to be on the same team. "Nationalists" from the People's Front and "discriminated Russian speakers" from the Democratic Conference to which a large segment of the non-Latvian population belongs suddenly found themselves side by side on the other side of the barricade. It turned out that the attitudes of parties and organizations speaking different languages toward the independence of Latvia may coincide, whereas those of the parties and organizations "speaking the same language" may differ. That is to say, the poll indicated yet again that the barricades in Latvia separate political convictions rather than nations.

We cannot fail to notice one more paradox of the current "war." "The legally invalid" poll was conducted by legitimate organs of power (incidentally, as is already known, approximately 74 percent favored the republic's independence) whereas it turns out that there is nobody to hold the "lawful" referendum: There is no state mechanism in the republic for executing Union decisions. At the press center of the Communist Party of Latvia they explained to me: "We engage in agitation work only." The leader of Latvian communists, A. Rubiks, said: "We proceed from the fact that the referendum is strictly an endeavor of the state rather than the public."

Apparently, nonparticipation by the republic authorities in the organization of the referendum made it possible for the central organs to give local soviets and even labor collectives the power to hold it. But who can guarantee the lawfulness of voting organized in this manner?

Latvia 'Priming' Public for New Immigration Law

PM1103085191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Mar 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Preparing Migration Law"]

[Text] Riga—It has been announced here that the republic government has prepared and will very soon be presenting to the Supreme Soviet a draft law on immigration. Obviously, the law is supposed to take the place of the republic government resolution on regulating population growth due to immigration, which caused much heated debate when it was adopted. It is to toughen the government's stance, so to speak, and put a stop to the uncontrolled process of immigration, as they say here.

The priming of public opinion has begun and is being conducted in the appropriate manner. "The economic crisis in the USSR is intensifying and there are fears of a new wave of immigration"—this, for example, is what I. Bisers, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, said, to justify the need for a new law. During the transition to a market economy this would create strain in the area of employment, he said, and there would inevitably be social and economic upheavals, which cannot be allowed. It sounds convincing. But it is well known, for example, that there is a disastrous shortage of manpower in a number of sectors at the moment, including construction. How is this problem, together with the acute housing question, going to be tackled in the immediate future? Is this important aspect going to be taken into account somehow in the law that is in preparation?

It is clear from preliminary comment that the republic will also being doing "its bit" to solve the housing problem of servicemen who are leaving the service. Since the republic has adopted the policy of giving servicemen's housing "official" status, it sees the construction of a quantity of housing outside the republic, by agreement with the USSR Defense Ministry, as one way of solving the problem.

CNN, Latvian TV Companies Sign Agreement

LD1203023391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1913 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Riga, 11 Mar (LETA-TASS)—Latvian television and the U.S. television company CNN signed a reciprocal agreement today. On weekdays, between 1700 and 1800, Latvian viewers will be able to watch the company's [CNN] news broadcasts, while on Sundays the plan is to broadcast during the evening a three-hour program reviewing the most important events in the world.

The agreement does not envisage the recording of news bulletins. Therefore they will be broadcast in English, without translation. In exchange, Latvian television will provide the U.S. television company with a three-minute news program on events in the republic.

Landsbergis Comments on Lukyanov Telegram

LD1203161691 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] This afternoon the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, received a telegram from Moscow: "In accordance with a decision of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet, a group of the Soviet Union's people's deputies is being sent to the republic to observe how the requirements of the Soviet Union's referendum law are being implemented. I ask you to help so that they can carry out the instruction of the Supreme Soviet undisturbed. [Signed] The chairman of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Lukyanov."

On this occasion the chairman of the Supreme Council has made the following commentary: The telegram does not contain any information abut people who are being sent, how many of them there are, their names and to whom they are being sent. The word "republic" in the telegram can be understood in different ways, even as the name of the newspaper, moreover, as we do not know from the telegram what they have been instructed to do, because their function as observers is described as a procurator's supervision, instructed how a law invalid in Lithuania will be implemented. [as heard] Only Lithuania's laws are valid in Lithuania. According to the referendum law of the Republic of Lithuania, no referendum is taking place at present in Lithuania.

The journalists were told about this at today's briefing by the press representative of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Audrius Azubalis.

Lithuania Cables Pugo, Yazov Over 'Interference'

LD1203121191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Zigmas Vaisvila, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, sent a telegram late last night to USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov and USSR Internal Affairs Minister Boris Pugo. The telegram points out the incidents which took place of late in Lithuania, the initiators of which were armed patrols of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry militia units of special designation. The Government of the Republic of Lithuania regards these acts of provocation carried out by the Soviet servicemen and the assistance of the military Commandants Office in detaining civilians as crude interference in the internal affairs of the republic in an attempt to destabilize the political situation in Lithuania. The demand to return the confiscated weapons from Lithuanian policemen, their identification documents, and private property without delay, as well as to discontinue actions of this nature committed by the Soviet Internal Affairs Ministry troops were expressed in the telegram.

Lithuanian Municipalities Prepare for Referendum

Vilnius Commission Ready for Vote

LD0903085491 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 9 Mar 91

[By correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius March 9 TASS—Vilnius is actively preparing for the all-Union referendum on the future of the Soviet Union.

Chairman of the Vilnius city commission on the referendum Aleksandr Bobylev told TASS on Friday that constituencies and precincts were established and all constituency and precinct commissions were registered.

Three constituencies and 29 princincts were set up for the referendum in Vilnius, which will be held on March 17.

"Numerous telephone calls to constituency and precinct commissions show that many people wish to vote for the preservation of the Soviet Union as a renovated federation of equal republics," Bobylev said.

However, the Lithuanian parliament, which is deadly against the referendum, is making new attempts to torpedo it.

The presidium of the Lithuanian parliament issued a statement on Thursday evening, saying that the activities of local councils and factories of all-Union subordination, which decided to participate in the referendum, "should be condemned and punished".

The presidium demanded that bodies of local government and managers of factories and organisations stop "such criminal activities".

This demand violates a decision by the Soviet parliament, permitting bodies of local government, mass organisations and enterprises to hold the referendum on their own if republican authorities oppose it.

2.5 Million Ballots Delivered

LD1203210391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] A report, obtained from reliable sources by an ELTA correspondent: A correspondent learned from reliable sources that today, Tuesday, approximately 2.5 million ballots have been delivered to Vilnius from Moscow for use in the Soviet Union's referendum.

The ballots were brought by a Laz bus and unloaded at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Building at around 1500.

The individual who supplied the information attested that armed plainsclothes guardsmen escorted the bus from Moscow to Vilnius.

The ELTA correspondent inquired why so many ballots were brought. The informant stated that it is estimated that approximately that many of our republic's residents will participate in the 17 March referendum, and that a sizeable number of them will vote for Lithuania to remain within the Soviet Union.

Supreme Council Counters Efforts

LD1303040191 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council has adopted two resolutions relating to efforts of certain municipal governments to organize the USSR referendum within their territories.

Relevant resolutions by Vilnius and Salcininkai Rayon Councils have been abolished. A resolution has also been adopted concerning Vilnius and Salcininkai Rayons and also Snieckus Council and certain [words indistinct] organizations of anti-state [word indistinct] in providing assistance to the Soviet Union in organizing its referendum.

An appeal is made to citizens of Lithuania and to all residents of Lithuania not to become involved in the willfully organized USSR referendum on Lithuanian territory. [passage omitted]

Landsbergis on Envoy's Veiled Threat to Europe

LD1303114191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Report by V. Usas from the Lithuanian Supreme Council building studio]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Here is a new report: REUTER news agency announced that USSR Ambassador to Bonn Vladislav Terekhov, speaking recently at the congress of the Social Democrats Foundation, issued indirect threats to Germany due to Germany's possible support for the Baltic states in their independence bid. He also denied the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which are known to everyone, saying that no one forced the Baltic states to join the Soviet Union.

Commenting on these statements made by the Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, said: Soviet diplomacy is casting off its sheep's clothing. To label a nation in which more than 75 percent of the population peacefully voted for independence as rebels against the empire and rebelious separatists can be done only by someone who does not recognize human rights and the rights of nations and who defends the cause of imperialism.

The historical digression made by Mr. Terekhov about Lithuania's 200-year presence in the confederation, in quotes, of serfdom Russia is either incompetence or lies. In legal terms, Lithuania has never been a republic of the USSR, just as Kuwait has never been a province of Iraq.

The open blackmail threat to Europe, however, is a threat to international law and peace. If Europe supports the victims of the Soviet Union, then Europe itself may be threatened.

All the obligations not to violate international security and not to threaten this are being violated. Could Soviets have such information and such an analysis that once again will frighten Europe? If so, Soviets are making the greatest political and psychological mistake, which is only justified by extreme desperation.

Landsbergis' statement was read to journalists by Audrius Azubalis, the government's press representative, at a briefing this morning.

Lithuania Considers Human Rights Appeal to UN

LD1203174791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0842 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The following appeal was read at the Supreme Council session:

An appeal to the UN Secretary General and the states-participants in the international pacts on civic and political rights: The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, stating that exactly one year ago, on 11 March 1990, Lithuania restored its state independence and, in spite of the crimes recently committed by the USSR Armed Forces, the Lithuanian Government is controlling the situation in the country; noting that the plebiscite of 9 February 1991 once again expressed the will of the people of Lithuania to live in an independent democratic state; remembering that many democratic states in the world did not recognize the forcible incorporation of Lithuania in 1940 into the USSR; expecting that the USSR will also change its attitude toward the annexation of Lithuania; respecting and holding in high esteem the actions of Denmark and Iceland in restoring diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania; stressing its loyalty to the universal human rights declaration;

acceding to the international pact of economic, social, and cultural rights, the international pact of civic and political rights, and the facultative protocol of the international pact of civic and political rights; pledging itself completely in cooperation with the United Nations to guarantee adherence to human rights and basic freedoms in the Lithuanian state, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania appeals to the UN secretary general and the states-participants in the international pact on civic and political rights and asks:

1. Condemn the Soviet Union's acts against the independent Lithuanian state, the Lithuanian nation, and its lawfully elected government, which violate the second and fourth items of Article 2 and the first item of Article 33 of UN regulations.

2. Appeal to the UN Committee on Human Rights asking for an investigation of crude violations of human rights in Lithuanian carried out 11-13 January 1991, and those which are still being carried out by the Soviet Union's Army.

3. Examine the situation in Lithuania and the Baltic region at the next plenary session of the UN General Assembly on the basis of Article 35 of UN regulations.

4. Mediate that interstate negotiations between the USSR and Lithuania with the participation of UN observers begin in the near future and thus contribute to the elimination of the threat in the Baltic region to international peace and security.

TASS Notes Appeal

LD1203214391 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius March 12 TASS—The Lithuanian parliament today adopted a decision cancelling the resolution of the Vilnius and Salcininkai Districts on holding the March 17 referendum on the future of the Soviet Union on the territory of these districts.

A motive for the parliament decision is that "the Soviet Union's laws on the territory of Lithuania are invalid".

The session also endorsed a resolution stating that "the Lithuanian Republic accedes to the documents of the international charter on human rights and vows to abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

The Lithuanian parliament session adopted an address to the U.N. secretary-general and the states which are parties to the international covenant on civil and political rights.

The address sets out a request "to study flagrant violations of human rights, which were committed by the army of the Soviet Union in Lithuania on January 11-13, 1991, and which are being committed up to now," and "to discuss the situation in Lithuania and the Baltic region at the nearest plenary session of the General Assembly" and "condemn the Soviet Union's actions directed against the independent Lithuanian state, the Lithuanian people and their lawfully elected authorities".

The Lithuanian parliament called for the start of talks between the Lithuanian republic and the Soviet Union soon with the participation of U.N. observers.

New Lithuanian Minister, Police Chief

PM1103120591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Commissars and Also Ministers With and Without Portfolios"]

[Text] Vilnius—There is a new post in the Lithuanian Government—minister without portfolio. Candidate of Mathematicophysical Sciences A. Abisala, 36-year-old speaker of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, has been appointed to it.

The tasks of the new minister, who does not have his own department, will include questions of the state information system and talks with the USSR. The first step of reorganizing the Lithuanian Telegraph Agency (ELTA) has been taken with A. Abisala's participation to some extent. The agency has henceforth additionally been given the functions of the government's information service. The new director of the information department has been appointed.

The post of general commissar of police of the Lithuanian Republic has also appeared in the official ministerial register for the first time. P. Liubertas, first deputy minister of internal affairs, has been confirmed in this post.

Thus, Prime Minister G. Vagnorius has vigorously set about "shaking up" his cabinet and is resolutely changing his "team" and administrative-managerial structures. New ministers of agriculture and finance and material resources have been appointed. The Ministry of Industry has been eliminated. Will these cadre and structural rearrangements help to drag Lithuania from the quagmire of the economic crisis?

Vilnius Commander Denies Drunk Soldiers' Actions

LD1003225891 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT 10 Mar 91

[By correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius March 10 TASS—Vilnius Garrison Military Commandant Colonel Grigoriy Belous denied reports in the local media alleging that several intoxicated Soviet Army servicemen had opened fire in a Vilnius street.

He told TASS that at five o'clock on Saturday morning four unidentified persons used physical force against a soldier on guard in the building of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Voluntary Society of Assistance to the Army, Navy and Air Force. They seized his automatic gun. Another soldier on guard opened fire in the air in alarm.

According to Belous, local media reports were "fully based on invention and distortion of facts".

RSFSR

Udmurt Supreme Soviet Blocks Referendum Appeal

LD1303051591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] A session of the Udmurt Supreme Soviet has started today in Izhevsk. The deputies have blocked the suggestion that the Supreme Soviet of the republic adopt an appeal to the citizens of Udmurtiya on the forthcoming referendum. The agreement was reached on that each participant in the referendum should make his own choice, and not be guided by the opinion of the legislative organ, if this is published.

Russian Deputies Discuss Extraordinary Congress

LD1303122791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1130 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] For the second day running in the House of Soviets of the RSFSR, the assembly of the deputies' group of non-party people's deputies of Russia is being held. Yesterday Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin took part in the assembly. The participants in the assembly examined questions of preparation for the Third Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies on the political situation in the republic and discussed ammendments to the congress' standing orders. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin called for consolidation of all democratic forces on the threshold of the coming referendum and extraordinary congress of people's deputies.

At present, in the building of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, a conference of chairmen and representatives of committees of the Supreme Soviets of the republics studying questions of human rights is also being held.

Laptev on Preserving Union Through Referendum

LD1303213291 Moscow All-Union First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, by correspondent Lyudmila Semina; place, date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Laptev] The idea of the referendum, which at first did not arouse any doubt in anyone—moreover, many welcomed and supported it—suddenly turned into an idea around which a political struggle was unleashed and which is constantly subjected to pressure to link the idea of the referendum—that is, the idea of the question of whether the USSR is to exist or not as a union of equal and sovereign republics which will ensure the rights of people of all nationalities equally—to replace this question with another question: Are you voting in support of the president or are you voting in support of the opposition? Even if we have a different president—because this is the first president and there will be other presidents—even if we have different parties, a different opposition, if we have much that is different, if moods alter, and if there are new problems, all the same, without doubt one thing will remain, that our country will always remain one. The task is to preserve this country. That is what the referendum is about, and not about whom we love most, whom we like best. [passage omitted]

I am deeply convinced that the absolute majority of people who come to the polling stations will come out in favor of preserving our Union and, thus, for its renewal, for its development, and for ensuring human rights.

You know, I have already said more than once that there is much in this country which seems wrong to everyone. There is much in this country which causes people pain, hurt, and suffering. But, we have no other country and we will never have any other country. We will be able to put right our shortcomings and our misfortunes only if this country is preserved. [passage omitted]

Eveyone should think today about the fate of the country. Everyone because today we are approaching a situation in which the lofty words which we have repeated thousands of times that everyone is responsible for the fate of the country have ceased to be theoretical. They have become literal and filled with living meaning, filled with vital life. On 17 March every Soviet person who goes or does not go to the polling station, who votes or does not vote, who supports or does not support the Union, really does hold in his hands the fate of this country in the most direct meaning of these words.

Leningrad KGB Arrests Anti-Referendum Activists

LD1203220991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2054 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Unpleasant news has been received today from Leningrad. "Clouds Have Settled Over the City"—that was the title given to an item by the SEVERO-ZAPAD [Northwest] news agency.

In the run-up to the referendum, the old methods of combating those who think differently are coming back to life. Two young men who were distributing Civic Resistance Movement [Dvizheniye Grazhdanskogo Soprotivleniya] leaflets urging people to boycott the referendum were detained near the Lenin Square subway station. A check is being carried out by the KGB, although it is not clear what they are checking. The leadership of the militia personnel who detained the two activists regarded the action of its staff as illegal. But the leaflets and the petition sheets in support of Boris Yeltsin that were confiscated without the necessary documents being drawn up have not yet been returned.

Working Base for Draft Union Treaty Adopted

LD0603021691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1629 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Excerpts] In the Russian parliament, the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet are preparing draft laws for the second reading. They are to be adopted in March, after 18 March, which is after the referendum. They include the laws on citizens' medical insurance, on the militia, and on recalling people's deputies. There is one more important aspect of the parliament's activity. Vladimir Korablev reports:

[Begin recording] [Korablev] For the second day, under the chairmanship of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the commission of the second extraordinary congress of Russia's people's deputies, has been intensively continuing its work to draw up a draft Union treaty. Today it made a decision to adopt as a working base the draft that has been agreed with other republics. I invited to the microphone Vladimir Leonidovich Arteyev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy and a member of this commission.

Vladimir Leonidovich, today you examined the protocol on the results of further work done on the draft Union treaty. This was prepared by plenipotentiary representatives of nine Union republics and 18 autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. [passage omitted] From your point of view as a historian and as a member of the commission, how do you look view the problem?

[Arteyev] I would like to say that of the two drafts we examined—the one proposed by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the alternative one—I believe that the alternative variant is more competent. Incorporated into it are many interesting and very responsible solutions. In particular, there is Article five on the demarcation of the powers of the USSR. It is to my liking as regards most of its provisions. First and foremost, a proportion of rights is surrendered that any center must have in any normal civilized state, because without a strong center, no state can exist. On the other hand, one can discern quite good provisions where the USSR implements some things jointly with the republics; that is, the rights of the republics are not being encroached upon. Finally, the republics are also being invested with powers in quite a specific way that does away with the war of laws, which the various mass media have already mentioned and which actually has taken place.

[Korablev] Today an enlarged meeting took place of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Social Development of the Countryside, Agrarian Questions, and Food. It discussed progress in the fulfillment of the decisions of the second extraordinary congress of RSFSR people's deputies and the necessary measures to prepare the spring field work campaign. A report on this matter was delivered by Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kulik, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture and food of the Russian Federation. [end recording]

Bashkir People's Congress Backs Union Treaty

PM0603163991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Feb 91 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent M. Merzabekov report: "In Favor of the Union Treaty"]

[Text] Ufa—The second Bashkir kurultay, or people's congress, has been held in Ufa. In addition to delegates from cities and rayons of Bashkortostan, representatives of the Bashkir people from 10 oblasts in Russia and seven Soviet republics took part (almost half of the Bashkir people live outside the Bashkir SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]).

One of the main issues discussed by the people's congress was support for the republic's declaration of sovereignty adopted by the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet. Delegates voted unanimously in favor of Bashkortostan signing the Union treaty only as a participant with full rights. The kurultay gave a resounding "yes" to the question that has been made the subject of an all-Union referendum: Is there to be a renewed Soviet Union or not?

At the same time, kurultay participants were mistrustful of the purpose of the Russian referendum announced the same day. It must be said that there are serious grounds for this mistrust. As is well known, during his visit to Bashkiria B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet told the Bashkir people: "Take as much sovereignty as you can swallow." So the people pronounced judgement and adopted a declaration of sovereignty for the Bashkir SSR—with absolutely no reaction from the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Since one of the questions in the Russian referendum—as people understand it—will essentially reveal their attitude to the proposed election of B.N. Yeltsin to the post of RSFSR president, people here in Bashkiria are afraid that their participation in the Russian Supreme Soviet's planned test of public opinion will be interpreted as unconditional support for B.N. Yeltsin.

Discussing another question in the Russian referendum—about land and ownership—delegates expressed their will as follows: The land must belong to all the people and under no circumstances be sold into private ownership.

The kurultay expressed its point of view on the following questions: Bashkortostan's socioeconomic development; support for and the revival and protection of the Bashkir people's national cultural traditions; and the development of broader, stronger ties between the Bashkir people and other peoples living in the republic's territory.

The question of people's attitude to the formation of a Bashkir SSR Academy of Sciences was also raised. The kurultay condemned attempts by the leaders of the Urals branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its Bashkir Scientific Center, Academicians N. Mesyats and G. Tolstikov, to prevent the formation of a Bashkortostan Academy of Sciences by using the far-fetched, totally unconvincing argument that the premises of the Bashkir Scientific Center belong to the USSR Academy of Sciences and consequently are not liable to transfer.

The Bashkir Republic Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party sent a message of greeting to delegates.

The kurultay adopted a total of 14 resolutions on vital issues affecting the life of the Bashkir people.

Karelia Leader on Political, Economic Problems

LD0603190591 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Sergey Blinnikov, premier of Soviet Karelia, believes that the citizens of the Karelian region will support the unity of the Soviet Union in the referendum to be held in just over a week's time. In Blinnikov's view, the referenda held in the Baltic countries are of hardly any significance. The Soviet Karelian premier regards the position of President Mikhail Gorbachev as strong.

Tapani Leisti continues:

[Leisti] Sergey Blinnikov, premier of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, who is visting Finland, hopes that the much-discussed economic zone project will be implemented soon. The project would bring power from the Kremlin to Karelia, to Petrozavodsk. According to Blinnikov, there is no famine in Karelia, nor will there be. He is hopeful concerning agricultural joint ventures with Finland, and expects results on easing the food shortage as soon as next autumn's harvest. The premier says that meat, processed meat products, butter, some cereal products, macaroni and some fish products are rationed, and adds that vodka will be kept rationed. According to the Karelian premier, the supply of milk to children under the age of 10 has been ensured. Rationing has, however, been able to ensure the basic foodstuffs for the population, the premier says.

He believes that increasing local power in Karelia in economic matters would ease the solution of these matters. The question is, when will the central leadership transfer power to the local level. The Karelian premier does not know when.

He believes that the national referendum pursued by the central Soviet leadership will strengthen the country's unity, although at least six republics have refused to hold the referendum and the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, have already held their own referenda. In those referenda, support for secession from the Soviet Union was clear. In the view of Karelian Premier Sergey Blinnikov, the Baltic referenda will not have much significance; the decisive thing will be the all-Union referendum on 17 March.

Blinnikov is also certain that the inhabitants of Karelia want to remain part of the Soviet Union. The small Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia belongs to the great Russian Federation, which is headed by Boris Yeltsin, a man who has called on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to resign. The Karelian premier says that Gorbachev's position is strong. Blinnikov cautiously compares Gorbchev and Yeltsin. He says that Gorbachev and Yeltsin have their own goals and different positions. A choice between these two will be made by the people alone, notes the Karelian premier.

Comparison of Yeltsin Speech

LD1103190391

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1227 GMT on 11 March carries the "full text of the address by the Chairman of Russia's legislature Boris Yeltsin which he delivered on Saturday to the aktiv of the 'Democratic Russia' movement."

The TASS Russian version has been compared with the Radio Rossii version published in the 12 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 71-74, and was found to be identical, except for the following:

Page 71, column two, first graf, first sentence make read ...[Text] Moscow 11 March (TASS)—This auditorium holds... (adding TASS dateline, omitting sentence)

Page 72, column two, graf two, penultimate sentence, make read ...into a bog. Yes, the time... (omitting phrase)

Ivanovo Oblast Votes To Hold RSFSR Referendum

LD1203232391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] As our correspondent in Ivanovo reports, the oblast soviet presidium has considered the issue of the expediency of holding the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] referendum. Vladislav Tikhomirov, oblast soviet chairman, reported that a group of deputies proposed that the RSFSR referendum should not be held in Ivanovo Oblast because it is unlawful. But members of the presidium by a majority of votes fortunately confirmed that the referendum will be held in Ivanovo Oblast.

Vote Against RSFSR Presidency Explained

91UN1032A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Article by Vasiliy Lipitskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Referendum Snag"]

[Text] I would like to return the reader to the quite recent past, when the office of president of the USSR and, subsequently, its endowment with additional powers was a topic of lively discussion in society. Among the arguments put forward at that time to placate the consistent supporters of democracy was the following: M. Gorbachev could not by nature be a dictator, and for this reason the fears caused by the concentration of power in his hands are unfounded.

These decisions are now a fait accompli and the property of history. But when they were being adopted an answer was not obtained to the fundamental question: Is the creation of a responsible office, no, not even an office but a new institution of supreme power, for a specific individual permissible, and what is to be done if in the future this office is occupied by a different person with totally different character traits?

Just a short space of time has elapsed, and the issue has become pertinent once again. Together with the all-Union referendum on 17 March we have a Russian referendum—on the institution of the office of president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic elected by the whole population. This by no means routine event has somehow become lost behind the keen battles surrounding the fate of the Union, and far from everyone has appreciated and sensed its meaning.

But this meaning is that, let us be frank with ourselves, an institution of power is once again being created for a specific individual. Everyone understands full well who today has the best chance of election victory. It is unclear, what is more, whether there will even be some bold spirit who dares to become B. Yeltsin's rival in the struggle for the presidency. If so, the author is prepared to bet on Yeltsin on any terms.

However, as distinct from the above-mentioned precedent, no one, most likely, would venture to maintain that the character of the most probable or sole candidate even for election as first president of Russia precludes authoritarian methods of rule. I personally would prefer to refrain from betting on this matter.

There is another, even more worrying, difference also. The president of the USSR was elected by the Congress of People's Deputies, is accountable to it, and may be replaced by it. But a president elected publicly is above the Congress and above the Supreme Soviet and could enter into conflicts with them, considering himself the spokesman of a will that is more significant. World history is replete with examples of this; the incidents that have arisen have been resolved variously, depending on the circumstances and the constitutional arrangement of the corresponding countries, but have always been unpleasant for society.

B. Yeltsin—a superstar of our political firmament—has acquired a name, popularity, and the sincere devotion of his numerous supporters even primarily thanks to abrupt, unexpected, and improvised acts and decisions. This line of behavior is the mode of his political being. Seated in a presidium and calling on someone to speak or performing routine business in his office, he is no more than one among many. His game borders on foul play and the knife edge, when all is intensified to the utmost. Here he is unique and inimitable.

Elementary particle physics has the rest mass concept. With some particles it equals zero, that is, the particle exists only when moving near the speed of light. If, however, it is stopped or slowed even, it disappears without trace. B. Yeltsin's political mass increases in struggle and diminishes at rest. I believe it was this that dictated his actions at the time of the Baltic crisis and also his recent statement on television. From which, incidentally, it is clear how transparent are the hopes of B. Yeltsin's reconciliation with M. Gorbachev and with the center generally—compromise is for him acutely contraindicated, like rest mass.

Please note, I am not saying whether this is good or bad or whether B. Yeltsin's actions are right or wrong. In respect of the matter at hand this is altogether of no significance. Even if it is believed that he is always and in all things right, I would sleep far more soundly were I confident that the president of my republic would in this time make no individual surprise, abrupt decision, confronting both the people and parliament with a fait accompli.

Sagacity, balance, stability—everyone would like to see these features in a high-ranking statesman. What, though, if the first person of the Russian state is generously endowed with unpredictability and impetuosity? I come to the conclusion that, lest such attributes be detrimental, his actions should constantly be under democratic supervision on the part of the people's deputies—of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. Consequently, it would be more expedient for B. Yeltsin to remain chairman of the Supreme Soviet or to be a president (if we are in so acute a need of a further president) elected at the Congress of People's Deputies.

A public election, on the other hand, would release him from such supervision. We would find ourselves in the power of political waves and winds, not knowing to which shore the future would throw us....

This is why, despite the kindliest personal attitude toward B. Yeltsin, on the ballot paper of the Russian referendum I will have to cross out the word "YES."

Yeltsin, Turkish President Ozal Meet in Moscow

Ozal Invites Yeltsin To Turkey

LD1203220191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] House of Soviets, a meeting was held between Turkey's President Turgut Ozal and Boris Yeltsin, RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman. An exchange of opinions took place on a broad range of contacts between the Russian Federation and Turkey. Mutual interest was expressed in their development. Special attention was paid to the exchange of experience in working out social and economic reforms.

President Ozal invited Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to visit Turkey at a time convenient for him. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

'Talks at the Highest Level'

LD1203174891 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By legislative correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, met at the headquarters of the Russian parliament today with Turkish President Turgut Ozal, in Moscow on an official visit.

Yeltsin highly assessed "changes that have been taking place recently in the Republic of Turkey," including its economic reform. He stressed that "cooperation between Turkey and the Russian Federation in economic, trade and other spheres has been on the ascent."

Commenting on domestic processes in the USSR, Yeltsin said that the Russian Federation "cannot imagine being outside the Union and will sign a Union treaty." "Nonetheless, we believe that this should be a truly renewed Union, with powerful republics and a small coordinating centre," he remarked.

Upon the completion of the conversation, Yeltsin told journalists that Turkey is one of the first countries with which Russia "holds talks at the highest level."

Recalling that relations between the Russian Federation and Turkey go back to the 1921 treaty of friendship and brotherhood Yeltsin said that "the Republic of Turkey has accumulated vast experience in the sphere of privatisation, that Russia has yet to carry out."

Leningrad Pro-Yeltsin Rally Proposes Nothing 'New'

PM1303105991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent N. Volynskiy: "Rally on Dvortsovaya Square. Who in Leningrad Is Calling for an All-Union Referendum Boycott and Why"]

[Text] Never before has the "Democratic Russia" movement managed to assemble so many people in Dvortsovaya Square. Around 60,000 people attended a rally there on Sunday. Never before has there been such a mass exodus from the square only a hour or so after the start of a rally. Only 1,500-2,000, the hard core that always attends "democrats'" actions, remained to adopt a resolution.

The "democrats" did not propose anything new on this occasion either. The same hackneyed slogans: "Gorbachev No," "Yeltsin Yes," "Down with the CPSU!" and so on.

The same speeches and phrases that have been repeated ad nauseam in the square.

I looked at the people's faces: What had brought them there, what were they expecting, what were they hoping for? Most of the people on Dvortsovaya Square were pensioners, although there were many middle-aged and young people. It is obvious why the elderly were there: Who among them is not anxious about approaching poverty? The Leningrad City Soviet has raised prices (for example, one kilogram of second-class chicken now costs 7.5 rubles in a state store), but it has not provided the promised compensation. It has deceived people. Then there was the usual hope, very strongly instilled in the older generation, for a new messiah, a father-figure leader, who alone knows what to do, who alone can save them. There is nothing surprising in the fact that when people started directing hallelujahs at B.N. Yeltsin and lauding his "talent, intelligence, courage" and other superhuman qualities, it was the elderly who displayed the most emotion and flattered him most. Indeed, in the past they had all praised Stalin, and then Khrushchev and Brezhnev... Evidently the need for a cult remains unsatisfied.

Now the organizers of the rally proposed the hosanna to leader Boris for their own private satisfaction. But what was the sense in it? "Union—no; free Russia without Communists—yes." This was the way nearly every speaker, around 20 of them, the vast majority of them USSR, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, or Leningrad City Soviet people's deputies, ended his speech. OK... But what instead of the old Union?

Alas, the deputies did not propose anything specific and there were no constructive ideas from "Yeltsin's program" (does it exist?) that might be of benefit to the people. But the political requirements were clearly formulated. Russian deputy I. Konstantinov made it plain that it is necessary to "destroy the empire," that is, the USSR. The well-known M. Salye, together with the semi-well-known writer M. Chulaki, again called for the prosecution of the CPSU. M. Chulaki, incidentally, is so obsessed with this idea, one that is, to put it mildly, in bad taste, that even the ultrademocratic paper SMENA slammed him the other day.

Once again (for the umpteenth time!) deputy G. Starovoytov brandished the prospect of a "military coup," while deputy N. Ivanov decided to join the "inquiry group to investigate the activities of the suspect, M. Gorbachev." Incidentally, Ivanov promised to thoroughly "purge" the Russian legislature and the Leningrad City Soviet. But what about the law? Actually, Ivanov has more than once made it clear in public speeches that if necessary one can say to hell with laws. Democratic Union functionary V. Terekhov spoke plainly as usual: He called for "plowshares to be beaten into swords" and for "the red riffraff to be kicked out of the Kremlin"... Russian deputy M. Molostvov promised that Democratic Russia would defend Yeltsin in parliament... to the last drop of blood. Is that what they expect, blood? What is this if not ramming home the expectation of a civil war, psychological preparation for it?

I cannot believe that the people will allow the "democrats" to deceive them again. Although those who left before the end of the spectacle in Dvortsovaya Square clearly realized that the fine words about freedom and democracy are not worth a dime today. The truth lies elsewhere: The "democrats" have now unleashed a brutal struggle for power as the new functionaries. It is totally innocent people who are again having to pay for this brutality.

Council of Ministers Conducts Extended Session

LD1203230491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] In Moscow today an extended session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers opened. The socioeconomic situation in the republic, prospects for functioning of the economy, and implementation of the budget of the Russian Federation in the current year, were discussed. Tomorrow will see examination of the problems connected with retail price reform and social protection of the population, and the program of measures to transfer the economy of the RSFSR to market relations.

Moscow Party Organs Issue Appeal on Lenin Museum

PM0703140991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Mar 91 First Edition p 4

[Resolution adopted by a joint plenum of Moscow City CPSU Committee and the Moscow City Party Organization Control Commission; date of plenum not given: "In Defense of V.I. Lenin and Leninism; Desecration of Memory"]

[Text] Letters and appeals are being received by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city party committee] and by the editorial offices of central and city mass media from Communists, party, war, and labor veterans, workers and employees, residents of Moscow and other regions of the country, and soldiers of the Soviet Army expressing disagreement and indignation in connection with the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] decision to hand over part of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum premises to the USSR Union of Lessees and Entrepreneurs.

In determining their stance, the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Moscow City CPSU Organization Control Commission proceed from the premise that, in conditions of extreme political instability, decisions by soviets of people's deputies on these and other questions must be adopted on a strict legal basis, in the spirit of constructive collaboration with different political forces, taking into account the opinion of as many voters as possible. The extensive political response generated by the Moscow Gorispolkom leadership's decision on the V.I. Lenin Museum is caused by its reterat from these obvious principles.

It is impossible not to perceive a direct link between the adoption of this decision and the ideological tenets of the "new" political forces, aimed at discrediting the Soviet people's entire historical path, at distorting and falsifying V.I. Lenin's scientific heritage and the essence and meaning of the CPSU's policy.

The Moscow City Soviet must realize that further encouragement of such actions cannot but lead to the intensification of legal nihilism, the desecration of the memory of entire generations, an assault on national, cultural, and historical relics, the defilement of monuments, and the closure of museums.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Moscow City CPSU Organization Control Commission, expressing the will of the city's Communists, condemn the decision adopted by the Moscow Gorispolkom, and will utilize all the opportunities afforded by USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] laws to have it reviewed.

The plenum appeals to Communists P.G. Bunich, chairman of the USSR Union of Lessees and Entrepreneurs, and Yu.M. Luzhkov, Moscow Gorispolkom chairman, with the demand that they return to the V.I. Lenin Central Museum the premises that lawfully belong to it.

The plenum asks the CPSU Central Committee and M.S. Gorbachev, USSR president and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to decide the question of conservation of the premises occupied by the V.I. Lenin Central Museum, and to find the necessary resources for its reconstruction.

The plenum's participants support the movement of party organizations and the city's working people and residents in defense of the V.I. Lenin Museum, and call on everyone to make whatever contribution they can to the preservation and reconstruction of the museum.

The resolution was adopted at a joint plenum of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the city party organization Control Commission.

Western Republics

Belorussian CP Addresses Appeal to Gorbachev

LD2702111191 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 19 Feb 91 p1

[Statement by the joint plenum of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee and Auditing Commission; date of statement not given]

[Text] We, the participants of a joint plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and Auditing Commission, perceive the development of the sociopolitical situation in the Baltic Republics with serious concern and great anxiety. We are deeply worried about the fact that under the banner of protecting democracy massed attacks are carried out on the policy of perestroyka, civil peace, ethnic accord, and a single union state. Having made use of the tragic events in Vilnius and Riga, anti-socialist, destructive forces, and national separatists are forcing an anti-communist anti-Soviet hysteria hunt and are persecuting anyone who tries to counter their plans.

Speculating on the natural striving of the people for sovereignty, playing on ethnic feelings, and resorting to slander and threats, they intensively try to portray communists as the enemy. They directly try to outlaw the Baltic Republics Communist Party's, to cross them out of political life.

All this aggravates the already critical explosive situation in the country. It makes the resolution of the crisis much more difficult, and inflicts damage to the USSR positions in the struggle for peace and cooperation between nations.

We decisively protest against psychological, moral, and physical terror against communists, and the attempts to shift onto their shoulders all the responsibility for the actions of the current leadership of the Baltic Republics, which have led to the political and social division of society.

We are confident that it is possible to untangle the extremely sharp contradictions which have accumulated in the Baltic Republics and in some other regions of the country by means of political dialogue and agreement to strictly preserve law and order, and to protect the rights, honor, and dignity of all citizens, regardless of their political views and beliefs.

We express our fraternal solidarity to our comrades in the party, who, in the most difficult conditions, oppose political extremism and ethnic intoxication and fight bravely for their rights, for the victory of the ideals of democracy, good, and social justice.

At this difficult time, we communists, as never before, must be organized, united, and single-minded in our actions. We must do everything in order to prevent the plans of the political demagogues and instigators being implemented, and uphold the course of the Party for the socialist renovation of society.

We appeal to M.S. Gorbachev, president of the country and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to take the necessary measures to protect the lawful rights and interests of communists and citizens of all nationalities, and to insure a steady fulfillment of the USSR Constitution throughout our country.

Moldovan Legislators Urges Preserved Union

LD1303042491 Moscow TASS in English 2132 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By correspondent Fyodor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev March 12 TASS—The Sovetskaya Moldova group of Moldavian parliament deputies has called on all citizens of the Republic to take an active part in the March 17 all-Union referendum and to declare for the preservation of the USSR and for Moldavia's entry into a renewed federation.

The group's appeal emphasises that the Moldavian parliament resolution, adopted with a one vote margin and calling to refrain from holding the referendum in Moldavia, is an attempt to bar the people from taking part in a poll on the issue which is of vital importance for every citizen and which concerns the future of the Soviet Federation.

Moldova's Snegur Warns Tirasopol on Referendum

LD1303042991 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 12 Mar 91

[By correspondent Fyodor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev March 12 TASS—A referendum on the question of the preservation of the USSR will be held on the territory which is under the council's authority on March 17 despite an ultimatum from Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, Igor Smirnov, chairman of the Tiraspol City Council of People's Deputies, told TASS.

Snegur demanded several days ago that Smirnov annul, within three days, the council's decision to hold the referendum. "Otherwise, availing myself of the right provided for by the Moldovan Constitution, I will have to suspend the activities of or dissolve the council headed by you," the Moldovan president's ultimatum stated.

The Moldovan parliament was reported to have declared against the all-Union referendum. Notwithstanding that, a number of district and city councils, some party bodies and joint councils of work collectives and public associations launched work to organise the referendum.

The Moldovan president warned that any actions by state power and administration bodies, officials, political parties, other public associations and movements or citizens directed towards holding the referendum in whatever form shall be recognised unlawful and those guilty will be called to account under the current legislation.

The Tiraspol council informed the USSR parliament of its decision to hold the referendum, Smirnov said. "We proceed from the primacy of the laws of the USSR over the laws of republics," he emphasised.

Moldovan Organization Urges Boycott of Referendum

LD0203053991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1846 GMT 1 Mar 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Mar (TASS)—Today the "Moldova-Demokraticheskaya" public political organization addressed the Russian-speaking population of the republic with an appeal to boycott the 17 March referendum on the issue of preserving the USSR. Earlier, the Moldovan legislature refused to hold the referendum on republican territory.

Moldovan Deputies Demand Druk's Resignation

91UN1047A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 8 Mar 91 p 8

[Article by correspondent V. Letov: "Emotions Around Power: When the Legislature Goes on Strike"]

[Text] Kishinev—The chairman of the legislature announced a 30-minute break to align the positions of the deputies' groups. The break, however, lasted four days—from Friday morning until noon Tuesday. Approximately 130 deputies, or practically half of all those present at the session, decided not to return to the session room until Mircha Druk, the republic's prime minister accused in the legislature of corruption, resigned. The same accusation and the same requirement was extended to the cabinet members (see SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 2 March 1991). But the "unsinkable Mircha" declared that "his manners were different from those of Prunskiene" and therefore he was not going to resign voluntarily. Such was the pre-holiday confrontation within the walls of a respectable assembly...

Soon, as if brought by a magic wand, hundreds and hundreds of people showed up for a rally in front of the legislature; even the teenagers present knew the state of things very well. They were shouting that the legislative crisis had been orchestrated by communists; the deputies had their own opinion: KGB agents and others—"hands off Mircha Druk." Newspapers published dozens of articles unveiling "who was who"; the newly-born Democratic Moldova group started its activity by pouring dirt on the Russian-speaking deputies—the alleged instigators of the legislative discord. All this was happening in the wings. Within the legislature, meanwhile, they were searching for ways to bring various positions "to a common denominator." This was found on Tuesday, in a certain semblance of presidential power. A resolution was agreed upon by different clubs which proclaimed that from that moment on Moldova's president "represented the highest executive and administrative power in the republic."

And what about the prime minister, so undesirable for half of the legislators? His fate is in the hands of the president until the next, spring session. Deputy A. Arseniy, chairman of a legislative commission for human rights and interethnic relations, read the document and mentioned that the conciliation commission had looked for an answer in the Constitutions of France and Austria and found it in the former. From this time on, a legislative form of government is proposed for Moldova and the executive power would have to recognize the concept of its own accountability. Some 265 deputies voted for this.

So, Moldova's legislature decided to follow the example of French democracy. Now they are looking with hope at what will be done by President Mircha Snegur before spring. Meanwhile, a policeman armed with a submachine gun is pacing the steps of the legislature. Why a policeman? There is no militia in Moldova any more; it was decided to transform it into police. His uniform, though, is that of a militiaman, the gun is a Kalashnikov. So, Kalashnikov is defending democracy a la France. The prime minister is there. The thieves' cooperatives are changing their signs...

The session has come to an end. Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Moshanu called on the deputies to reject the referendum in the republic, in spite of their differences of opinions. For some people it is the main thing and to them the fuss around the prime minister seems rather petty...

Here is the mood of the press of the Moldovan People's Front: There are no guarantees that the president will not be replaced before spring instead of Mircha Druk. It seems that the president is "too pro-communist." These newspapers are full of open abuse directed at the center. TSARA, organ of the Moldovan People's Front, which appears under the slogan "For a democratic and free republic" names those who, in its opinion, "are to blame for the people's suffering." These are the Communist Party and Mikhail Gorbachev—"the second phenomenon after Dzhugashvili"...

There you are. One thing I do not understand: What does this have to do with France and her legislative sense?

Reportage on Moldovan Goods Coupon Rationing

LD0203023191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Mar (TASS)—A system of distribution of goods in exchange for coupons has started to operate today in Moldova. Aleksandr Tanas, correspondent for MOLDOVA-PRESS, reports that to protect the consumer market and to increase the fight against profiteering and shadow economy, all consumer goods are to be sold on presentation of a consumer card with coupons.

According to the governmental decree, the cards are being issued to all citizens of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic once a month, with coupons for a sum equivalent to 70 percent of their income. Those who deliver cattle, poultry, agricultural produce, and raw materials to the state are to receive coupons for 100 percent of the value of the goods they deliver.

Citizens with the lowest incomes, not exceeding 100 rubles a month, will receive consumer cards with coupons worth 75 rubles a month.

City Soviet Suspends System

PM1303115491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Union Edition p 1

[TASS report from roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, SIBINFORM, REUTER, UPI items: "Validity of Coupons Suspended"]

[Text] Tiraspol City Soviet Presidium, a TASS correspondent reports, has suspended the coupon system on its territory, which was introduced in the republic 21 February in line with the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic Government resolution "On Temporary Measures To Protect the Consumer Market." The resolution states that the decision to introduce the coupon system of selling goods was taken without sufficient study of its expediency and was not backed by a supply of goods, and moreover it was an illegal act that undermines the unity of the USSR financial system.

Ukrainian Vote on Union Referendum Unclear

PM1303111991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by correspondent S. Tsikora under the general heading "On the Eve of the Referendum": "Who Will Vote in the Ukraine and for What"]

[Text] Kiev—IZVESTIYA has already reported that on 17 March, inhabitants of the Ukraine are due to express their opinion on not one question but at least two. The first question is on the all-Union referendum ballot about the future of the Union as a renewed federation. The second is on the republican poll ballot and reads—"Do you agree that the Ukraine should be part of a Union of Soviet Sovereign States on the principles of the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Ukraine."

The republican poll ballot is clearly out in front today. Indeed, you would not have expected anything else: Both main political forces in the republic—Communists and the overwhelming majority of the opposition—are currently urging people to answer "yes" to its question. This rare merging of forces by political parties which are usually openly opposed to one another has happened veritably before people's eyes in the past two weeks. The beginning of the formation of this "union" even inspired a certain alarm. The fact is that the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum did not support the idea of holding a republican poll. But the party majority in the Supreme Soviet failed to defend that decision. The legislature adopted a resolution on holding its own republican referendum simultaneously with the all-Union referendum.

It is to the credit of the direct participants in these events that they did not allow the divergence between the plenum's position and the decision of the legislature to develop into a fierce ideological confrontation or to inflame the atmosphere in the republic. During a recent visit to the Chernigov region, S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, stated bluntly that Communists will take part in the republican poll and will answer "yes" to the question on the ballot.

Another fundamental factor in determining the sociopolitical atmosphere in the republic on the eve of the referendum was the speech in the Lvov region by L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, who shed light on the kind of union of sovereign states that the republican poll ballot means.

"We are going to move toward the kind of union," the head of the republic said, "in which we ourselves will decide all the questions relating to our land. We, and no one else. The will of the people will be the determining factor and their laws must be paramount."

The results of the voting on the republican poll can be more or less predicted even now. When it comes to answering the all-Union referendum question, matters are more complicated. I do not hide the fact that the idea of a renewed federation and a new union is coming under attack these days. The question has caused a sharp polarization of opinions in the republic. Communists are urging people to say "yes" to the renewed federation. The opposition is insisting on a categorical "no" to the transfer of political rights to the center. Party publications are devoting whole pages to materials campaigning for the preservation of the Union. The opposition, which has no newspapers, is pasting leaflets exposing the "intrigues of the center" on the walls of buildings on main streets.

Representatives of the opposition parties are returning to the squares where they totally dominate the microphones at rallies and their appeals repeat the slogans of last fall—"No the Union treaty!" and "Freedom for the Ukraine!" Nor do they forget to mention leaders of the Union, the CPSU, and the Ukrainian Communist Party by name.

Under the new law, rallies in the Ukraine are held once a week. But the party press is firing "ideological broadsides" at the opposition every day. You can tell how heated passions have become from the mere fact newspapers have begun carrying articles which no longer take issue with the opposing side's views but with personalities. People didn't stoop to that before...

The opposition, it seems, has decided to play its trump card in the next few days: A report appeared in the youth newspapers that the authorized representatives of all the republic's students organizations are about to meet in Kiev. The aim of the meeting is to secure the implementation of the demands made by students during the mass political hunger strike last fall. I would point out straight away that some of those demands do not tally with provisions of the recently published Union treaty. Young people are highly skeptical toward its main idea—the preservation of the Union. Given that young people feel that way it is alarming to consider not only our long-term future but also the possible events of the next few days. In any event, the recent plenum of the Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party City Committee stated that the city can expect a politically stormy spring...

Ukraine's Fokin Interviewed on Union Treaty

LD1303051291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Kiev, 12 Mar (TASS)—A new Union treaty ought to be a document reflecting the unfettered expression of the will of the people of our country, reckons Vitold Fokin, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers. As he stated in an interview for an UKRINFORM correspondent, it is above all objective conditions that ought to exist for a document of this kind to be signed. Now such conditions exist.

We are not for a unitary union that has discredited itself, but for completely new and free relations within the framework of the Union, stressed the prime minister of the republic. The principle of a union of sovereign states ought to underpin the foundation of the new Union treaty. This document ought to take account, first and foremost, of the interests of republics and the wishes of peoples. It is not the center that ought to grant rights to republics, but the republics, having united themselves and formed a union, giving the center some of their powers—issues of defense, space communications, and the tackling of major ecological and other large-scale problems.

One can use various terms—union, commonwealth—but this is not the main thing, says Vitold Fokin. The main thing is that there ought to be a union of sovereign states. The republic ought to become a subject in international law. At the same time it would be a fatal error to destroy the Union. There are a number of functions that republics will not be able to cope with on their own, at present. Over a period of three-quarters of a century—like it or not—they have been transformed into a live economic organism, as a single entity. This objective factor must be taken into account. Emotions, in tackling important issues such as this, ought not to gain the upper hand, emphasized the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers.

Lvov Aide Attack on Pro-Union Clergy Cited

PM1203111791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Drozd under the "Well I Never!" rubric: "They've Even Got to the Church"]

[Text] Oh, times are hard for "democratic" politicians nowadays (and now this referendum has been dumped on them): They are constantly forced to twist and turn, to explain, to clarify. In this sense the latest live appearance by V. Chernovil, chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet, on local television initially offered no revelations.

The fact that he dislikes the recently published draft Union treaty could have been predicted, as could the fact that this time emotions would prevail over weighty arguments. Such as the following: "If we preserve the Union this will be death for us—and not only national but economic death, too."

Clearly having decided that such an "argument" no longer inspires fear in people, Chernovil broached a quite delicate aspect of the referendum theme. He began assessing the actions of priests dependent on their attitude toward the Union Treaty. Chernovil took a very favorable view of those priests who urged the flock of "their" fatih to vote for an "independent Ukraine" and against the Union Treaty, remarking that this is direct campaigning for "our" ticket (the regional one, aimed against the Union Treaty—V. Drozd). But as soon as he began talking about priests who have allegedly campaigned for the Union treaty he immediately gave free rein to his indignation. These people, it turns out, are not clergymen at all but "cunning lackies" who must be unmasked, they are the "black sheep" of the flock. But even these "epithets" were not enough for Chernovil, it appears, and he openly began inciting the viewers to act as snoopers and informants: "If a priest campaigns for the Union treaty inform the church hierarchy and tell us" (that is, the oblast soviet (?!)—V. Drozd), and he promised that he in turn will send a "signal" to the ecclesiastical authorities to investigate such clergymen...

Blessed are the believers of the Lvov region... After "instruction" of this kind you are bound to doubt whether that is true...

Ukrainian Premier Advocates Union Membership

LD0803130491 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet stated that the Ukraine should remain a part of the renovated Union where republics would gain real sovereignty. Kravchuk described the talks about leaving the Union as politically and economically naive. He stressed, however, that is is not possible to leave unchanged the situation in which the Ukrainian economy is almost completely under the Union ministries' control. We must clearly stipulate in the treaty what belongs to us and what belongs to the Union, the Ukrainian leader said.

Ukraine's Kravchuk, Lvov's Chernovil Debate Union

PM1103094491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 91 First Edition p 3

["Rejoinder" by correspondent V. Drozd: "And Is This a Sign of Accord?"]

[Text] Lvov—The arrival in the region of a top-ranking leader is always an event. His every day is planned down to the last minute. The attention the mass media pays to him is also understandable—it is not so often, for example, that Lvov welcomes L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. All the more curious is the manner in which "independent" journalists are covering the guest's visit, the things they are highlighting, and the things they are leaving in the dark.

An appeal for accord in the name of people's welfare clearly ran through all of L. Kravchuk's speeches, like the repeated appeal: The time has come for the Lvov area at local authority level to stop warring with parties, and to be more specific—with the Communist Party. The matters being discussed were, naturally, both the upcoming referendum and the Union treaty. Here the republic Supreme Soviet chairman upheld his position calmly and persuasively: A reformed Union is necessary. Taking part in a live broadcast at the local television station, V. Chernovil, chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet, was unable to adduce any weighty evidence to support the contrary view. As usual, however, he did not deny himself the pleasure of having a dig at the party obkom [oblast committee], if only to reaffirm once more the thesis that the party committee is adopting a destructive position.

A certain restraint on V. Chernovil's part could be explained, it turned out, by at least two motives: First, he wanted to appear as a peacemaker, and second, at the time when the live broadcast was on the air, the latest issue of the newspaper published by the Lvov Oblast Soviet, ZA VILNU UKRAINU, was already ready for printing. In this, alongside what is now the standard dose of attacks against the Communists, on the first page there was a flamboyant appeal by the Civil Accord Committee (which is headed by V. Chernovil) to the inhabitants of the Lvov area under the headline: "'No!' to the Union Treaty, 'Yes!' to an Independent Ukraine."

There are no arguments in the appeal. But there are more than enough accusations. The treaty is branded as "bondage," and our entire history as "uninterrupted war against all peoples," "70 years of mocking common sense," and "a constant threat to peace and democracy across the world." In the appeal there is much clanging of fetters and curses directed at the "communist empire," the imperial bosses, and tyrants...

It turns out that this was why the oblast soviet chairman sometimes flattered and sometimes made feeble objections to his interlocutor in the television studio: His true position at that time was already rolling off the printing presses.

Ukrainian Legislator Comments on Union Treaty

91UN0991A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Feb 91 p 2

[Article by A. Moroz, chairman of the majority in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet: "We Can Neither Drag Our Feet Nor Be in a Hurry"]

[Text] Kiev—In discussing the draft Union treaty I have spoken with many people's deputies of the Ukraine. I have been distressed by their passiveness. And, further, the fact that the comments on the draft which have been expressed have been roughly identical, on identical articles.

The question of the Union treaty has in a sense been decided in the republic. The presidium and, subsequently, all the people's deputies concluded that signing the treaty prior to the adoption of a Ukrainian constitution would be premature. And there is no particular novelty or hint at separatism in this approach. Even proceeding from the need for universal concordance of the draft, this would take a considerable amount of the time needed to prepare a constitution. Then, it would seem to me, it is not a question of the basic law—it could be adopted after the treaty has been signed also. Time is needed to determine our position on what is most important—who we are as a subject of the Union. Were the center to do some work in this area, the treaty also would be signed considerably more quickly.

People's deputies of the Ukraine believe, not without reason, that had the draft appeared a year earlier it would have been signed unconditionally. Now, however, the situation has changed and, what is more, far more rapidly than the administrative structures have developed. A line has been drawn beneath the past by a different method and so abruptly that it has cut off much of what it is impermissible to cut off. Time is also needed to recognize this. So there should be no haste in connection with the Union treaty.

The draft treaty is being discussed everywhere. Various opinions are being expressed in the newspapers and on radio and television. The evaluations are so close that it would hardly be expedient to reiterate them using the well-known arguments. After all, not seeing that the republics' adoption of declarations is not a "parade of sovereignties" but an objective process of the awakening and development of the self-awareness of the population of the republics could only be intentional. With the same authenticity it may be maintained that the draft Union treaty strictly limits their sovereign rights and is contrary to international declarations.

The people's mood is being affected by a certain inconsistency in the organs of state administration and the president of the country. The expression "union of sovereign states," which he put in circulation, has been "in operation" for a long time. Would it be strange were it not to acquire specific content and were the subjects of the Union not to attempt to determine which functions and how many will be transferred to the center? After all, it is in this line that the lengthy propaganda of the future Union treaty has been conducted.

In the Ukraine the question of the Union treaty is being needlessly used as an argument in the political struggle. The new parties which are being formed (with a common ideological basis—anticommunism). Rukh and various politicized groupings are making speculative use of the demand concerning the impossibility of signing the treaty. One has the impression that this approach is simply convenient for them in the struggle against the communists. But there are few people in the new parties who are giving thought to the conditions of the realization of sovereignty. Yet it is the Union treaty which could and should be the formula for the independence of each republic and the guarantee of the independence of development.

Whether some people like it or not, the republics remain the successors of the Union, their inheritance of international obligations included. Unless the center's fulfillment of these commitments stimulates the development of the republic economies, the republics should, consequently, assume these commitments themselves. In short, the need for their precise distribution arises. And this also should be an item of the treaty.

Let us also take account of the fact that with the present level of production, quality, and selection of merchandise no one is waiting for us in the "European home." We must develop the domestic market, including the interrepublic market. Its common infrastructure, concerted rules of intra-republic markets and a well-conceived price policy are needed for this. All these are items of the treaty also. Even given the current unitary system of management, individual republics are contriving to so "regulate" prices that, while not improving the situation on their territory, they are putting their neighbors in a state of turmoil and intensifying inflation processes. Need it be said that we need the treaty if only as a guarantee against territorial claims. This is not now a contrived argument, unfortunately.

Each sober-minded person realizes that a fortress of economic relations, the community of tragic fate and political, social, and spiritual interests and unity of defenses, finances, power engineering, and communications require coordination of action, regardless of the wishes of individual subjects of the Union. We all need to think together about what form this coordination takes. It is clear merely that the sources of unity lie below, in the republics. From where, and not from the proposals of the center, the Union treaty should grow and its articles be infused with content. From where one function or another should be delegated to the central authorities.

We should neither be in a hurry nor drag our feet on such an important matter. Can the president make provision for this? Can we in the republics become involved in helping him facilitate a way out of the crisis with the aid of the center?

Ukrainian Poll Backs Modified Union Treaty

91UN0992A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 12 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with N.A. Skok, director of the oblast center for training and retraining personnel and sociopolitical work and candidate of philosophical sciences, by correspondent I. Glyanko; place, date not given: "What Was Shown by the Poll Conducted by the Chernigov Obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine"]

[Text] The information-sociological service of the Chernigov Obkom [oblast committee] of the Communist Party of the Ukraine conducted an instant poll on problems related to the signing of the new Union treaty. At the request of our PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent, the results of this poll of the residents of the Chernigov area are discussed by N.A. Skok, director of the oblast center for training and retraining personnel and sociopolitical work and candidate of philosophical sciences.

[Glyanko] Nikolay Andreyevich, who participated in the poll? Were sociodemographic indicators and categories of the population taken into account when studying public opinion?

[Skok] We polled 1,032 volunteers. Among them were 101 workers, 266 kolkhoz workers, 82 engineering and technical personnel, 100 farm specialists, 144 representatives of the intelligentsia in the humanities, 176 employees, 20 students, and 143 pensioners. To these statistics I can add that 426 of the respondents were members of the CPSU, 104 members of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], and 502 nonparty members. A total of 580 men and 452 women were questioned. They were 16-60 years of age and older. Their education was from secondary to higher, inclusive.

[Glyanko] In a word, your service considered everything in your instant poll. Which questions did it ask its poll audience, so to speak, and what kinds of answers did it receive?

[Skok] First of all, we were interested in how many of the participants in the poll were familiar with the draft of the new Union treaty. Of the respondents, 38.08 percent answered "yes," 50.39 percent "partially," and 11.53 percent "no."

The audience had various evaluations of the content of the document itself. Of those questioned, 13.37 percent were in favor of signing the new Union treaty in the form in which it was presented for nationwide discussion. There were 21.51 percent who found it difficult to answer this question, and 62.69 percent of the participants in the poll stated: "the draft needs more work" or "I will sign it only after it has been completely reworked."

[Glyanko] I can understand the attitude toward the draft expressed by those questioned. But what is it, this attitude, toward the Union treaty itself: T be or not to be?

[Skok] The answers varied here too. Nonetheless 78.29 percent of the participants in the instant poll were "for" the Union treaty and only 4.84 percent against. For 16.86 percent of those questioned this was difficult to answer

[Glyanko] And how did the residents of the Chernigov area who participated in the poll feel about the decision of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and the statements of Latvia and Estonia about withdrawing from the USSR?

[Skok] An analysis of the figures from the instant poll showed that 55.14 percent of those questioned were categorically "against" withdrawal from the Union and 31.01 percent were in favor of satisfying the aspirations of the Baltic republics, but first they wanted to have all the disputes resolved on the scale of the country, and 9.88 percent of the participants in the poll found it difficult to answer this question. Only 3.97 percent of those questioned were in favor of withdrawal from the Union without any conditions.

[Glyanko] As far as I know, in our republic a certain category of the population is standing in the way of the signing of the new Union treaty. Was this question raised in the instant poll?

[Skok] It was. Here are the results we obtained: 50.19 percent of the participants in the poll assert that this is being hampered by "Ukrainian nationalists," 35.37 percent by "Narodnaya rada," 25.39 percent by "the Ukrainian Republican Party, and 3.2 percent by "the group of 239 in parliament."

[Glyanko] Who, in your opinion, should solve the problem of the Ukraine's withdrawal from the Union?

[Skok] We raised this question in the poll: 13.66 percent think "the republic authorities"; 2.03 percent stated "local authorities;" and 76.74 percent said "the population through a referendum."

This question was also raised on the questionnaires: "Who—the Union or the republic—should resolve the problems of the country's defense, state security, space research, rail, pipeline, and air transportation, and international policy?" The majority of the participants in the poll gave preference to the Union. But as for questions of the ecology, leadership of economic development, strengthening of law and order, and the development of culture, according to the data from the poll, our republic should resolve these.

[Glyanko] And the last thing, Nikolay Andreyevich, what kind of explanatory work is being done in the oblast in connection with the forthcoming nationwide referendum? The more so since among the participants in the poll there were people who are not familiar with the draft of the new Union treaty. Did they express a specific attitude toward the signing of the treaty itself?

[Skok] The ideological department of the obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine a couple of days ago put out an informational bulletin entitled "Position." It relates the whole program of action of the party committees, propaganda groups, and deputy corps during the period of preparing for and conducting the nationwide referendum. They have already begun mass political work in the population points of the oblast, in the labor collectives, and in the places where the people reside. This important work is being handled by a special group called "Dialogue." The most diverse subjects are discussed: "A unified Union—the basis of the material well-being of representatives of all nationalities," "On the draft of the Union treaty and the work of the party of communists under the new conditions," "The USSR and a sovereign Ukraine"... General educational schools and cultural and educational institutions are also conducting meetings and discussions which show the great friendship and unity and the historical path of the peoples of the USSR. An important argument in favor of friendship is the measures in honor of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the author of the poetic phrase "The sense of a unified family," P.G. Tychina, in the Bobrovitsa village of Peski—in Pavel Grigoryevich's home town, in the oblast philharmonic, and in the M.M. Kotsyubinskiy Museum. On 14 February in the oblast there will be a day of political information for the population on the subject of "The USSR and a sovereign Ukraine." In the next few days at the juncture of the three sister republics in front of the Monument of Friendship there will be a mass celebration called "Unity and Harmony" in which residents of Bryansk, Gomel, and Chernigov Oblasts will participate. The organizers of this event are the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belorussia.

All the mass political work is being widely publicized in the press and on local radio. Thus in DESNYANSKAYA PRAVDA there is now a column called "A Word About the Union." The first article under this rubric, "Friendship Builds and Discord Destroys" [title rendered in Ukrainian] evoked a large response from DESNYANKI readers... The instant poll conducted by our service augments the measures being conducted in the Chernigov area in connection with the forthcoming referendum.

Ukraine's Kravchuk on Republic, Center Relations

91UN1038A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 10, Mar 91 p 4

[Interview with L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, by L. Novikova; place, date not given: "'We Are the Children of the Ukraine'"]

[Text] *Is the Union to be or not to be, and if it is to be then what kind of Union? Perhaps, this is one of the main questions at present in our complicated life. What do the heads of republics think about it? We offer you an interview with Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine L. Kravchuk.*

[Novikova] Leonid Makarovich, as you see it, is the union between the republics strong?

[Kravchuk] The Ukraine and Russia initiated the creation of the Union. Alas, at present it is bursting at the seams. A treaty signed in 1922 did not justify the hopes of the peoples who have come together in the Union. The Ukrainian people, as well as many other peoples, believe unambiguously that the Union cannot be what it is today. Last year, the parliament of our republic adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty. Everybody voted in favor of it: Communists, Social Democrats, and representatives of other parties alike.

[Novikova] Is this to say that you want to secede from the USSR?

[Kravchuk] No, this does not at all mean that our people would like to exist outside the Union. However, we would like to live in a renewed Union set up on a fundamentally new basis.

[Novikova] Could you elaborate, please.

[Kravchuk] We believe that this should be a union of sovereign states. All political structures, all structures of power should be designed proceeding from the interests of the republics belonging to the Union. I believe that there can be no other approach. The new Union should take into account the national, political, and spiritual interests of all peoples. In addition, guarantees are needed that this Union will not turn into a totalitarian state, as happened after 1922. This is to say that such principles should also be taken into account in the treaty. The treaty should not be general. Articles should be worded in such a manner as to rule out ambiguity in interpretation.

With reference to sovereignty, I would like to stress that we do not want freedom at the expense of other peoples. As I see it, moral values should be a part of politics.

[Novikova] Do you believe that we cannot do without the treaty?

[Kravchuk] However, powers between the republics and the center should be clearly mapped out in the treaty. To be sure, an effort to delineate them is under way at present. Draft documents that proceed from the old positions are being submitted to the Council of the Federation.

[Novikova] What is your concept of these powers?

[Kravchuk] They should be clearly distributed, so that in the republics only their own laws apply, and the republics should be masters of their own land and resolve all issues falling within their jurisdiction.

[Novikova] What about the center?

[Kravchuk] Powers delegated by the republics should determine the extent of central power. Appropriate Union laws should apply in the center, and the republics will transfer appropriate funds corresponding to the powers of the center. In this manner, a war of laws behind which is a war of the people will be ruled out.

Our Supreme Soviet has determined what powers are to be retained by the republic and what powers are to be transferred to the center: The latter are defense, space, nuclear power, major scientific- technical problems, and some other spheres. All other tasks should be accomplished by the republic as a sovereign state. One master will be responsible for their success or failure.

[Novikova] You have referred mostly to the political structure. What about economics? After all, the industry of our country is intertwined to such a degree that it may, perhaps, be compared only to a human organism which may perish if even one blood vessel bursts.

[Kravchuk] Absolutely correct. A Union cannot exist in the absence of economic, as well as political contacts. Horizontal ties between the republics and political treaties should be the main avenues as far as the economic structures are concerned. As you know, the Ukraine has already signed such treaties with Russia and Belorussia, and economic agreements with 14 republics, that is, virtually all republics belonging to the USSR.

The law on the economic independence of the Ukraine and the concept of a transition to a market economy state that in the long run the Ukraine will also have its own currency. However, this should be coordinated with the actions of other republics, and we need to see how stabilization processes develop in the country, and how the Union is built. I repeat that the Union is needed, it needs to be built, but on new principles.

We are now making a great effort for the Ukraine to become more open for both other republics and the world.

[Novikova] In what way?

[Kravchuk] In addition to laws on the economic independence of the Ukraine and on local self-government, laws on foreign economic activities, on the creation of a banking system, on property, on joint enterprises, and some other laws will soon be adopted that will regulate rights, opportunities, and guarantees for all who want to work in our republic and outside of it, and invest capital here. There will be returns: Our republic has considerable resources of raw materials and manpower. We have a considerable scientific potential.

The Ukraine ranks among the first in the world in the output of many key types of products. However, the standard of living of the people keeps falling. The finance and monetary system is out of balance; economic ties established over many years are being severed. I am convinced that actual efforts on everyone's part are necessary to change the situation.

[Novikova] Like Belorussia, the Ukraine has been affected by the Chernobyl tragedy. How are the consequences of it being eliminated?

[Kravchuk] Let me give you several numbers. An area of 5 million hectares has been affected by radioactive contamination. As specialists calculate, damage comes to 200 billion rubles [R]. About 2 million people live in this area, out of whom 380,000 are children. Both the Union and the republic governments have made considerable efforts to mitigate the consequences somehow. Our main task is to resettle the inhabitants of contaminated localities. One hundred thousand people have already been resettled from the zone. Another 30,000 are yet to change their place of residence. Spending about R17 billion toward this end is envisaged. However, we will be dealing with the consequences of this misfortune for a long time to come.

[Novikova] If you recall, Leonid Makarovich, E.A. Shevardnadze resigned because he felt that a dictatorship was approaching. Do you have such a feeling?

[Kravchuk] They are now saying that perestroyka has come to an end. I disagree with this. Yes, indeed, even the author of perestroyka could not have imagined that it would take such a turn. However, there is perestroyka, and it continues. As far as a dictatorship is concerned, this is a dual question. There is the issue of using military force, which we categorically oppose. However, striving to live by law does not mean the return to a dictatorship. All states of the world that at present live under democracy strictly obey the law. I recall the case of English miners: They took steps to defend their interests, but the government did not take these interests into account. When former Prime Minister Thatcher was asked why she did so, she answered briefly: "They wanted to be above the law."

[Novikova] What do you expect of the forthcoming referendum on the future of our Union?

[Kravchuk] I think that the citizens of the Ukraine (those who will come and vote) will be in favor of the new Union.

[Novikova] Do ethnic contradictions exist in the republic? After all, more than 100 nations and ethnic groups reside in its territory.

[Kravchuk] I believe that they do not. To be sure, the problems of the Crimean-Tatar population exist in the Crimea. However, they may be solved with good will. The main point is to learn to listen to the entire people rather than some segment of the people in a particular region. Incidentally, the Supreme Soviet voted in favor of restoring an autonomous republic in the territory of the Crimea proceeding from this approach. More than 93 percent of the participants in the referendum in the Crimea voted in favor of precisely this status.

[Novikova] What is your relationship with the Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka]?

[Kravchuk] This movement is very diverse. Truly brilliant individuals—writers, artists, and scientists—belong to it; however, there are also extremists. However, I was the first one to engage in a discussion with them and to attempt to find a common language.

[Novikova] Did you succeed?

[Kravchuk] On certain points. However, the dialogue goes on. Yet, the main point that unites us is: All of us are children of the Ukraine, which is to say that we should reach an agreement!

[Novikova] Leonid Makarovich, is the introduction of presidential rule possible in the Ukraine or in its individual oblasts, as you see it? What is your personal view of presidential rule?

[Kravchuk] I believe that presidential rule may only be introduced by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The leadership and parliament of the Ukraine pursue a policy of agreement of all political forces and of taking realities into account. I believe that in our republic there will be no occasion to raise the issue in this manner.

The form of government should be determined by the Constitution, and the president should be elected by the entire people.

Ukrainian Security Commission Established

LD2702200491 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] [Announcer] Another standing deputy commission was set up today at the [Ukraine] Supreme Soviet. It will deal with issues pertaining to foreign and internal security. The purpose of setting up the new parliamentary commission is evident: It so happened that till this day the activities of internal affair bodies, the committee for state security of the republic, and other structures which ensured the foreign and internal security in the country have been badly coordinated. The chairman at the session, head of our parliament, Leonid Kravchuk, proposed to elect people's deputy Vasil Durdinets head of the newly set-up parliamentary commission. He was given the floor in order to set forth the program of action of this commission.

[Begin Durdinets recording in Ukrainian with superimposed translation into English] Special attention is being given at the highest state level to the comprehensive solution of problems pertaining to internal and foreign policy which have great significance for the destiny of Ukraine. These problems should be examined in close connection with the political situation in the republic. As is known, we have common borders with not only other constituent republics, but the countries of East Europe as well. Broadly developing with many countries of the world and diaspora are economic, socio-political, cultural, and human contacts. Interest is growing to those processes which are taking place in Ukraine on the part of different foreign agencies and centres.

On the one hand, all this requires promoting the strengthening and developing of different ties and relations with those who sincerely wish goodwill and happiness to sovereign Ukraine. But on the other hand, this requires that we diligently follow developments and timely react to them. In my view, continued deputy Vasil Durdinets, in its work while defending state and national interests, the commission should proceed from the principles of personal security of man. We must do everything possible so as to prevent the events of the past, such as the gross violation of law, mass reprisals, from happening again. We must build a legal state and consolidate Ukrainian sovereignty, said Vasil Durdinets. [end recording]

[Announcer] The program forwarded by Vasil Durdinets was supported by the deputies. He was appointed to the post of head of the standing commission on questions of internal and foreign security. His personal particulars are as follows. Vasil Durdinets was elected member of parliament from Kirovograd Region. He was born in 1937, a Ukrainian by nationality, has higher education, member of the Communist Party. Now he holds the post of first deputy minister of the interior of the Ukraine.

Coal Shortage Shuts Down Ukrainian Steel Plants

LD1303073691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0726 GMT 13 Mar 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Sergey Kravchenko]

[Text] Kiev, 13 Mar (TASS)—Blast furnaces at steel plants in Kirvoyorog, Mariupol, Kommunarsk, Yenakiyevo and Zaporozhye had to be shut down due to coal shortages.

Deliveries of coking coal have been erratic in the last two years, Yevgeniy Kovtunenko, director general of the Yuzhkoks Industrial Amalgamation, told UKRINFORM-TASS.

More than 300,000 tonnes of coal have not been delivered to Ukrainian plants this year.

The situation is further aggravated by the miners' strike. As a result workers at Ukrainian coke-industry plants have lost more than 1.5 million roubles in wages, which amounts to the combined average monthly wages of one of the 14 plants in the republic.

Hopes to put things right by bringing coal from other Soviet coal fields are unrealistic, according to Kovtunenko.

Several coke-chemical and steel plants will have to be closed down, he believes.

Caucasus

Armenian Deputy Comments on New Party, Referendum

NC1303011391 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Moscow had not witnessed such a crowd for a long time. On Sunday, 10 March, Manezhnaya Square was packed with people. Nearly half a million Muscovites, residents of Moscow Oblast, [word indistinct] guests, and a large number of people's deputies of the USSR and of the Russian Federation participated in the rally organized by the leadership of the Russian democratic forces. [passage omitted] USSR People's Deputy Telman Gdlyan issued a political statement on the establishment of the Russian Popular Party.

After the rally, an ARMENPRES correspondent asked Telman Gdlyan to comment on the problems facing the new party. Our party, he said, in cooperation with other radically oriented democratic forces, wants to assume political responsibility for the future of Russia. It is strongly opposed to the existing regime in power; it is a [word indistinct] political force against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Therefore, on 17 March we will vote against the union proposed by Gorbachev.

Armenia Adopts Bill on Referendum, Parties

NC2702205091 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Report by Karine Yelanozyan on the 26 February session of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] [Yelanozyan] To stress the importance of the bill on the referendum, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, proposed that the session open with a debate on the bill. He believed the debate would not be a prolonged one in view of the fact that, although the bill is extensive, it was formulated on the basis of similar standard international and union laws.

In fact, the first part of the bill which sets forth the general principles of holding a referendum, the right to participate in it, its financing, and other issues was adopted by a majority of votes at the first reading. The next section of the bill, which concerns the preparations for and holding of the referendum, was also adopted at the first reading after some additions and amendments.

The people's deputies were then presented with the final version of the bill on public and political organizations. Although the bill was passed yesterday and today's version had taken account of all criticisms and additions, it still generated a debate. It was agreed that the contentious points would be clarified during the recess and the issue would be taken up again at the next sitting. [passage omitted]

During the evening sitting, the people's deputies resumed the debate on the bill on referendum. As was expected, the points in the third part of the bill dealing with the procedures for holding a referendum, particularly the point on the validity of a referendum, caused heated debate. Eventually, the session adopted the proposal that a referendum would be considered as having taken place when more than half the participants in the balloting voted in favor of it. In special cases, the Supreme Soviet could stipulate that a referendum would be considered as having taken place if two-thirds of the participants voted for it.

Toward the end of the session, the legislature adopted the entire bill on the referendum and instructed the Standing Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy Affairs to amend the documents in accordance with the criticisms and proposals advanced.

The legislature also adopted the final version of the bill on the public and political organizations.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan summed up the results of today's work:

[Ter-Petrosyan] It can be said that our legislature today endorsed two important measures aimed at ensuring freedom of speech and the press and freedom for public and political organizations and parties, measures which will democratize our society. This evinces that the Armenian Republic's supreme organ of power is true to its own declaration [on independence] and is putting the requirements of this declaration into effect one step at a time. In assessing our activities over the last six or seven months, we can state that these activities have proceeded entirely within the framework of the implementation of that declaration. On this occasion, I want to congratulate our legislature and people for remaining true to this road of democratization and for their consistent actions.

[Yelanozyan] The legislature will continue its deliberations tommorow.

Tbilisi Armenians Appeal to Abkhazian Armenians

AU1103172191 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Representatives of Armenian intellectuals residing in Tbilisi have adopted an appeal to the Armenians residing in Abkhazia, calling upon them not to yield to the provocation of individual extremists that are stirring up hatred for their native Georgia and to refuse to take part in the referendum that has been scheduled for 17 March. The appeal is signed by [first name indistinct] Teronyan, chairman of the Armenian section of the Georgian Writers' Union; [first name indistinct] Nazaryan, chief producer of the Tbilisi Armenian Drama Theater, honored cultural worker of the Georgian Republic; Rafael Chimishkyan, champion of the Olympic games, honored master of sports; [first name indistinct] Baltasaryan, head of the Tbilisi Armenian School No. 104, honored pedagogue of Georgia; Yelena Mitsaryan, candidate of juridical sciences and head of chair of Armenology at the Tbilisi Pedagogical Institute; [first name indistinct] Marmelyan; Emma Avsyan, senior lecturer; and others. It reads that, today, all Armenians, who have found cordiality, a home, and support on Georgian land, must realize a simple truth: We must treasure the age-old friendship between the Georgian and Armenian peoples and increase tenfold our efforts in the struggle for a united, free, democratic, and independent Georgia. Having rejected the referendum of 17 March, all Armenians, together with Georgians, must take part in the republican referendum on 31 March and express their firm desire to restore Georgian state independence. We are profoundly aware of the difficult and complex situation in which you have found yourselves, reads the address to the Armenians residing in Abkhazia. However, we believe in your wisdom, in your aspirations to support Georgia in everything. That is why we, with the sense of responsibility for the future, are calling upon you: Vote for the restoration of Georgian statehood.

Manucharyan Appointed Adviser To Premier

NC0803163491 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers has decided to appoint Ashot Garnikovich Manucharyan as chief adviser to the chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers on matters concerning planning and coordination of national security affairs.

Armenia To Receive New Planes, Helicopters

NC0603154291 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 1 Mar 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The hangar of the Armenian Civil Aviation Department will in the near future be supplied with new comfortable airplanes and helicopters. Armenia will be provided with four IL-86 airbuses. Yerebuni airport will receive four helicopters. The acquisition of these helicopters is of national importance, for, to give an example, one could fly to the outside world from Shaumyanovskiy rayon and Getashen only by helicopter. The three helicopters which were lately destroyed by the guerrillas from Baku are in effect not serviceable anymore and this has seriously complicated the maintenance of the link with northern Artsakh [Shaumyanovskiy and Getashen Rayons]. The new addition of aircraft inspires hope that the cares of our compatriots, who are so near to us and yet so distant, will be slightly alleviated.

Azerbaijan Legislature Votes To Hold Referendum

PM1203142991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Z. Kadymbekov: "After Trenchant Debate"]

[Text] Baku—A session of the Azerbaijan Republic legislature has decided by a majority on a roll-call vote to take part in the all-Union referendum: The figures were 254 for, 43 against, with six abstentions.

Trenchant debate developed on this question. During a two-day discussion more than 20 deputies spoke from the session rostrum and the line waiting for the hall microphones was endless.

Two stances, each of which had its own well-argued basis, stood out clearly. The advocates of the first, who voted in favor of holding the USSR referendum on the republic's territory, based their standpoint on the impossibility of "going it alone" with the heavy burden of economic problems. The reality is, they stressed, that the republic's industry and agriculture are connected to the country's unified national economic complex by a myriad of threads. Destroying them today could lead to a profound economic crisis, and salvation on one's own is inconceivable. The following examples were cited: Thousands of component parts are sent to and from the industrial enterprises of the country and republic, and processes of integration stretching over decades cannot be stopped in an instant. The advocates of the referendum also expressed the opinion that it is the people of the whole republic who should determine their own future and their attitude to the center and the Union.

In the opinion of deputies representing in the main the democratic bloc, however, nonparticipation in the 17 March referendum in no way signifies the republic's withdrawal from the USSR. But it could avert otherwise inevitable further demarcation and confrontation of political forces in society. Moreover, such a step would enable the people of Azerbaijan to express their attitude to the center, which had demonstrated in the last three years its inability to discharge its delegated rights to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic and resolve the conflict surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast...

The discussion was summed up by Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov, who briefed deputies on the Federation Council sitting and its results. The arguments and facts cited by the president undoubtedly played their part in the distribution of votes.

Mutalibov Downplays Referendum's Importance

91UN1020C Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 6 Mar 91 p 3

[Statement by A. Mutalibov, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, published under the "In The First Person" rubric: "This Is a Response to the Crisis..."]

[Text] It is too late to lock horns now over whether we need a referendum on the preservation of the Union or not. The Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies took an unambiguous stand on the referendum. If we recognize the congress as the supreme legislative organ a purely technical question remains: to organize and carry out this action.

Personally, I believe that we could have done without a referendum. We have the Constitution, and we have very many new elements in the field of law creation. After a certain stage at which we develop a set of laws and live accordingly in the perestroyka or post-perestroyka period we could raise the issue of the Union Constitution, which will have been renewed by then... We could go that way. I understand, however, that the referendum is an emotional outburst, a response to the crisis. In turn, the crisis is a result of mistakes and errors which we have allowed to occur on all levels in our everyday activities, and for which all of us are now paying.

I will not conceal the fact that different points of view on the referendum exist in our republic. There is the view that it should be rescheduled; a certain segment even favors refraining from participation in this action. But public opinion surveys in labor collectives, rayons, and industrial centers indicate that the overall sentiment is, on the whole, favorable. Several days ago I visited two large machine-building enterprises of the capital city, including a production association of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry which employs 5,000 people. The workers take an extremely specific view of the issue of the referendum and thus of the attitude toward the Union. They respond to a question with another question: They say that they receive subcontracted parts from 14 republics and make good money (more than 340 rubles on the average). What will the future of this collective of thousands be if contacts with the republics collapse? You see, the people perceive this problem in light of the realities of life rather than abstract politicking, and this is why it is obvious to them that severing relations within the framework of the Union is disastrous for all.

Besides, nonparticipation in the referendum does not yet amount to a decision to secede from the USSR. There are constitutional procedures for this; a pertinent article exists which gives the republics the right to raise the issue of secession. There are arrangements for seceding; these issues should not be confused. This is why I am sure that, being wise, the Supreme Soviet of the republic and the people will make a decision that complies with constitutional order.

We have now developed horizontal contacts. This is a new form of coexistence in the Union space. To be sure, it is a pity that these contacts do not necessarily work out. We have started establishing contacts with foreign countries freely; this is also a new horizontal line, also a step forward from the point of view of republic rights. This is the path we should take—through stabilizing the political situation and the economy, implementing market relations, and improving the standard of living, toward the increasingly genuine content of the sovereignty of Union republics.

As far as the organizational aspect of the endeavor is concerned, electoral structures in our republic have been fine-tuned; there are commissions that have not been dissolved and are able to function. If the Supreme Soviet makes a decision, the technical aspect of the referendum will not be a problem.

Azerbaijan Legislature Debates Cabinet

NC0803201791 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] [Passage indistinct] Resuming its work after a recess, the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet began debating the item on the agenda related to the president's proposals on the structure and composition of the republic's Council of Ministers. Speeches were made and the deputies put forward several proposals. The Supreme Soviet instructed the permanent commissions to examine the president's proposals on the structure and composition of the republic's Council of Ministers and to consider the proposals put forward by the deputies.

The session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet will resume its work on 7 March.

Gamsakhurdia Asks Abkhazia To Avoid Referendum

LD1203184491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, has called on the Abkhaz people not to yield to the intrigues of historical enemies in connection with the decision by the leadership of the autonomous republic to carry out the Union referendum on its territory. In the view of the head of the Georgian legislature, the referendum aims to stir up interethnic strife in Abkhazia; to set Georgians, Abkhazians, Armenians, Russians, and representatives of other nationalities against one another; and to provoke bloodshed. In this document the leadership of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Vladimir Ardzinba, chairman of its Supreme Soviet, are accused of confrontation and separatist tendencies. In spite of threats from the head of the Georgian legislature, the working people of the capital of Abkhazia, who gathered at a rally organized by the Soyuz political bloc, voted in favor of participating in the USSR referendum. They were supported by representatives of public movements of the autonomous republics and oblasts of the North Caucasus and South Ossetia.

Abkhaz Legislature Defies Georgia on Referendum

PM0603143791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Mar 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent L. Arshantsev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Deputies Preferred Referendum"]

[Text] Sukhumi, 4 Mar—Long before the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session began its work, rumors were rife about its possible decisions. As is known, the autonomous republic has its own viewpoint on its membership of the Union. In an appeal specially adopted 27 February the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium had reminded its Abkhaz colleagues that all questions which they submit to their session are of constitutional significance and can be adopted "only by a qualified majority of two-thirds of the votes, likewise all amendments to the Abkhaz ASSR Constitution."

In fact, the Abkhaz legislators were not disposed to a confrontation. What is more, on the eve of the session the Presidium at its two sittings amended the agenda in line with all constitutional and legal norms, mindful of the complex situation both in Georgia and in the autonomous republic itself.

Nonetheless, the thunder of fundamental disagreements rang out. As was only to be expected, the stumbling block was the USSR referendum. Here the Abkhaz deputies did not yield an inch, advocating the organization of measures to hold it on the territory of the autonomous republic. Deeming the very formulation of the question unacceptable to itself, the Georgian deputation walked out in of protest and did not participate in the vote.

Gamsakhurdia Says NKAO Belongs to Armenia

NC0403235491 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 3 Mar 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN has published an interview with Zviyad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, entitled "There Can Be No Restructuring in an Empire."

Gamsakhurdia speaks optimistically about the future of relations between our two peoples and believes that these relations should continue and expand.

Referring to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, Gamsakhurdia noted: I have always insisted, as I did in the interview I gave to BBC radio, that Nagorno-Karabakh belongs to Armenia. Although it is a disputed territory, its transfer to Armenia is the only way out of the existing situation.

I have always (?favored the revival) of our historical relations of friendship, mutual understanding, and mutual [words indistinct]. We should continue to live together in the same way we have throughout our entire history, said the chairman of the Georgian Republic's legislature at the end of the interview.

Gamsakhurdia Denies Dagestan Discrimination

AU0803163891 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1445 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, sent a letter to Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in connection with the dissemination on 4 March of the address by Magomed-Ali Magomedov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dagestan Autonomous Republic, among members of the USSR legislature. As reported by Sakinform Agency correspondent Gogoberidze, the letter categorically denies the assertion contained in this address about the alleged policy of purposeful deportation of Dagestanians from the territory of Georgia, a policy pursued by the Georgian nationalistic forces. It is emphasized in the letter that there are no problems pertaining to the residency of Dagestanians in Georgia. The text of the letter has been published in today's issue of the newspaper VESTNIK GRUZII.

TASS Reports Denial

LD0703214191 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Tbilisi March 7 TASS—Georgian parliament President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has sent a letter to USSR parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov in connection with an address by Magomedali Magomedov, president of the parliament of the Daghestan Autonomous Republic. The address was circulated among USSR parliament members on March 4.

Gamsakhurdia's letter "categorically denies assertions contained in the address about an ostensibly purposeful policy being pursued by "nationalist-minded forces of Georgia to banish Dagestans from the republic". SAKINFORM News Agency correspondent Eduard Ediberidze reported.

"There are no problems concerning the life of Daghestans in Georgia," the letter emphasises.

Chechens Send Telegram Supporting Gamsakhurdia

AU0403163691 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Telegram from the Chechen delegation, signed by Sakhanikov and (?Abumuslimov), members of coordination council of the Assembly of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Information spread by the mass media to the effect that the Assembly of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus appealed to the Government of Georgia with the demand that the Georgian militia be withdrawn from South Ossetia and that negotiations involving the recognition of the latter's national sovereignty be started has nothing to do with the Chechen delegation. The Chechen delegation came out decisively against bringing Interior Ministry troops into Georgia or Abkhazia and against any attempts on the part of the center to interfere in the affairs of the Caucasian peoples. Moreover, the Chechen delegation came out decisively for the boycott of the 17 March referendum.

A copy of the telegram was sent to the chairman of the television and radio-broadcasting company.

Georgian Legislature Extends Ossetian Emergency

LD1203175491 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The Presidium of Georgia's Supreme Soviet (parliament) has extended for another month the state of emergency in Tskhinvali, the administrative centre of South Ossetia, according to reports from Tbilisi.

The decision was prompted by the extremely tense situation in the region. Last night, militants fired at a Georgian police post close to Tskhinvali, TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov learned at the Georgian Interior Ministry's press centre. Since the extremists shot from the side of the city's residential districts, the police did not return the fire.

TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev was told at the North Ossetian Interior Ministry that a great number of picketers from unlawful armed Georgian units were seen concentrating around Tskhinvali. They say they will not allow the regional organising committee to hold a referendum in South Ossetia on March 17.

Meanwhime, militants continue [to] plunder and evict people from their homes. Ethnic Ossetians have already been expelled from 26 villages of the region, according to the press centre of the emergency committee at the president of North Ossetia's Supreme Soviet.

Since North Ossetia is unable to house all refuges from the South, the republican leadership has decided to request assistance from neighbouring republics in the Caucasus.

Tskhinvali Rally Adopts Appeal on South Ossetia

LD1203213791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] A few reports by the NOVOSTI agency: The situation remains tense in South Ossetia. The roads to Tskhinvali are still blockaded. The agency's correspondent in Tskhinvali reported that there was a rally of the military and Russian-speaking population at which an appeal to the president of the USSR, the USSR minister of defense, and the United Nations was adopted demanding that urgent measures be taken to end the bloodshed and the civil war.

Conditions in Tskhinvali Deteriorating

91US0341A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 91 Second Edition p 6

[Article by PRAVDA correspondents G. Ovcharenko and S. Cheremin: "Blood, Hunger, and Cold—Our Correspondents Report from South Ossetia"]

[Text] Tskhinvali—**No one in Tskhinvali knows how many were killed and wounded, how many people died from hunger and cold, how many became hostages, and how many are missing. The population of South Ossetia, deprived of means of communication and even the elementary possibility of moving freely in the region, is divided today into many "Robinson islands," cut off from the world. But when there is no information, rumors and outright disinformation emerge.**

We have already written how our MI-8 landed in the village of Dmenisi, where an Ossetian population lives. We talked with people there, and we took on board a gravely ill woman. On the following day, in the headquarters of the commandant of the state of emergency zone, which for some reason was not situated in Tskhinvali itself, but at the entrance to the city, we heard:

"Yesterday, a military helicopter landed in Dmenisi twice, and it brought militants, weapons, and food products..."

We verified the landing time: For it was we who were on board. We asked:

"You saw all of this with your own eyes—militants and weapons?"

A respected person, the chairman of one of the Georgian kolkhozes, lied (why?) straight to our face:

"Yes, I saw this personally..."

However, neither does the other side disdain to use rumors and conjectures. For example, they categorically assert that the Tbilisi printing house, in printing PRAVDA, replaces articles that are objectionable to Georgians with other ones. And no matter how we tried to convince them that PRAVDA comes out in two editions, which is reported in the publisher's imprint, and that these two issues frequently differ from each other, it seems that they still did not believe us. Well, he who does not want to hear does not hear.

From an operational summary:

"Armed people continue to picket the city's supply routes (Gori-Tskhinvali, Dzhava-Tskhinvali, Tskhinvali-Yerevan, Tskhinvali-Avnevi). The only bridge over which humanitarian help came from the settlement of Dzhava was blown up. Out of 22 enterprises in Tskhinvali, only the bread combine is working..."

In South Ossetia, there are two peoples who are famous throughout the world for their hospitality, goodwill, and high culture. Now they do not want to listen to one another. They listen only to the voice of vengeance, and they answer shot for shot. It is even frightening to write about this, but here is a fact: Militants stopped an ambulance that was carrying D. Kochiyev, a seriously wounded 57-year-old Ossetian teacher, and, firing point blank from an automatic weapon, they finished him off with a single shot. Also, a militia captain, a Georgian, who was escorting the wounded man, also suffered.

There are more than enough such examples of vandalism, sadism, and fascism. And when you see the eyes of a Georgian or Ossetian mother who has lost a son and cannot even bury him in a cemetery because it is controlled by a hostile party, it gives one a terrible feeling.

Forgive us for these words, Ivan Sergeyevich and Tamara Yefimovna Tasoyev: An automatic weapon in the hands of an embittered person—this means more victims. Forgive us also that we were unable to talk with you longer about your dead son Inal, and to stay longer at his grave in the yard of the school where he studied. We believe that he was an outstanding lad: the life of the party, the leader in all good undertakings, and a Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] activist. We know all of this, and we grieve together with you, together with other mothers, Georgian and Ossetian, who lost children in the interethnic strife. We grieve... But we remember that there were weapons in the hands of your sons.

From an operational summary:

"On 1 March, 364 reports of crimes that were committed arrived in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. All told, 51 persons died (20 Georgians, 31 Ossetians), 261 were wounded (of these, 162 were Ossetians), and 17 persons are missing. The data is only for Tskhinvali, inasmuch as there is no communication with the settlements and villages of South Ossetia..."

School... We associate the best years of our youth with this word, the first love. There are graves in the yard of the Fifth Tskhinvali School. Lying here are those who opposed violence, and those whose life was taken by a stray bullet. While the Tasoyevs were placing a modest plaque on the grave of the son, we found out from the teacher O. Bibilova:

"Three of my graduates are buried here," tears came into her eyes, "and over there lies Edik Kumaritov, 6th grade... Yesterday, I was checking on tests, I took his notebook, and suddenly it struck me like a shock—but Edik is no longer living!"

For years, decades, and centuries, Georgians and Ossetians lived side by side amicably (and not poorly). Perhaps nowhere are there more mixed marriages than in South Ossetia—there is also tragedy in this: The enmity of the two nations and their mutual frightening hatred are now destroying these once happy families. And what about the children who are deprived of their childhood? What will they bring to the world in five to 10 years, if their hearts and minds are brought up on barricades that separate South Ossetia according to national features into two irreconcilable sides?

Who is sowing hostility and hatred among the people of South Ossetia? In our opinion, the conflict is more political than it is ethnic. It was kindled by those forces which, playing on the national self-consciousness of the people and moving them to chauvinism, are making their way to personal power and are trying to break up the Union into separate votchinas [bureaucratic estates]. Georgia, they say, above all, Georgia is for Georgians, and the rest of the nations are uninvited guests. And since this is the case, of course, they should leave.

From an operational summary:

"The city management of Tskhinvali is totally paralyzed, the heating system does not work, and because of a lack of fuel, garbage is not being removed, which threatens massive epidemic illnesses. At present there are 4,100 children in the city up to 16 years of age. About a thousand who are up to one year old do not get milk regularly. Many children are ill with jaundice. There is a critical shortage of bandage dressings..."

The situation with foodstuffs has become critical. Hunger and cold have already harvested their first crop: 27 persons have died in an old age home in the last two months, and another seven are on the verge of death. As a result of the blockade, the heating system and water pipes have frozen.

"Since 12 December 1990, food products have not been issued from supply bases in the cities of Gori and Tbilisi to Tskhinvali trade stores," says I. Dzhioyev, chairman of the commission for the distribution of foodstuffs of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. "Also, nothing came to us through the stocks of the oblast union of consumer societies. There has been practically no trade in flour, cereals, sugar, tobacco and industrial items in villages with an Ossetian population for more than two months. At any moment, the Tskhinvali bread combine can be shut down.

Also aggravating the situation is the fact that in January-February, when the center of Tskhinvali was in the hands of Georgian informals and the militia, eight stores, six warehouses, four pharmacies and the city polyclinic, and five food catering enterprises were robbed. Sixteen pogroms of enterprises and organizations and 16 establishments were registered, the oblast theater was burned down, and the museum and library were ransacked. Archival secret documentation, financial documents, and pension and labor booklets were destroyed. Bank safes were opened, and all cash on hand was taken. It is already three months that the population has virtually not been working, and is not receiving pay, assistance, or pensions. Some 7 million rubles [R] in 50- and 100-ruble notes that were taken to be exchanged in Tbilisi have not been returned yet.

"Now only R400,000 are in circulation, at a time when several millions are necessary for the normal functioning of the city economy," says G. Khugayev, first deputy secretary of the oblispolkom. "We have not calculated the final damage yet, since there is no communication with the rayons. However, according to modest estimates, it amounts to R220-240 million.

"What is being done to restore a normal situation?"

"Several representative commissions have already been to the city, right up to Deputy Prime Minister Voronin," replies Gerasim Georgiyevich. "They arrived, listened, and excited the people with promises, and they outlined plans for the elimination of the blockade. The only one who assessed the situation objectively and undertook some kind of specific action was USSR People's Deputy B. Oleynik. True, later on he was subjected to anathema by the Georgian press...

From an operational summary:

"Tskhinvali does not have communications with Tskhinvalskiy, Znaurskiy, and Leningorskiy Rayons of the oblast, where in many of the villages kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and private property was plundered. A number of the villages of the oblast where there was a dense population of Ossetians are completely empty. Just in the village of Mamita, about 20 farmsteads were burned down—almost everything. The Ossetian population was completely chased out of 22 villages."

...Refugees. We will also talk about them. For this is a special tragedy. Everyone sympathizes with them, and as far as possible they are given shelter and food, and every possible bit of clothing is gathered for them. But we admit: Refugees are not welcomed anywhere, and they themselves realize that everywhere there are strangers.

There is anarchy in Tskhinvali today. The curfew is a rather relative concept... Major General of Militia G. Kvantaliani, commandant of the city and deputy minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia, does not even show himself in the city.

"We ourselves do not let him come here," explained deputy commandant A. Bogorishvili, "for they will shoot him down."

Anarchy, naturally, is exploited by criminals, who are getting more insolent with each day. Rackets, burglaries, and robberies are flourishing in the city. According to operational data, gangs have people of different nationalities—Ossetians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Russians... They hide their activities behind political and national motives. They will burglarize the home of a Georgian or an Ossetian, and afterwards they set it on fire and then spread the rumor: This, they say, is caused by hostile people of different nationalities who are taking revenge on each other.

There is no one to stop the criminals at present. Especially since they frequently disguise themselves in the toga of national self-defense detachments, and it is only for this reason that people who are tired of blood, shootings, and anarchy support them.

"It no longer matters to us what authority there will be, an autonomous oblast or a republic," Ossetian girls told us in the mess hall of the military compound. "We need only one thing—not to fear for the life of the children and for our own lives."

No matter whom you talk to in Tskhinvali, they all talk about one thing: The country and the center have forgotten us. In Lithuania they say that several persons perished and the entire world became alarmed. In South Ossetia there are dozens of corpses and hundreds of injured and everyone is silent. The ukase of the president of the country and the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet hang in mid- air, and neither side is hastening to fulfill them.

...But, in the meantime, while driving out of Tskhinvali, we heard shots once more...

Sochi Post-Chernobyl Cleanup Nears Completion

PM0603160391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 91 p 3

[Report by D. Kukunov: "'Glowing' Nights in Sochi City"]

[Text] L. Ponomarev, chief doctor at Sochi City Epidemiological Center, was very surprised by the appearance on television of a sensational feature on radiation pollution in the resort city. According to him, regular background readings started in Sochi a few days after the Chernobyl disaster. Active decontamination has been carried out since 1988. Just over a thousand of "glowing spots" which the program talked about were found in the course of these three years. They were eliminated as far as was possible. The area of most of the spots did not exceed a few square meters.

How many of them are there in Sochi today? The chief doctor himself does not know this, nor does L. Gevorkyan, manager of the radiation laboratory. According to them, a department of the city's civil defense staff has a detailed map of the radiation situation. In any case, the city's Tsentralnyy Rayon is already close tp getting the all-clear; Lazarevskiy and Khostinskiy Rayons have been cleaned up; and some spots remain in Adlerskiy Rayon.

After completion of the cleanup of the city's territory (this should happen in March), the maximum background radiation will not exceed 60 microroentgens per hour.